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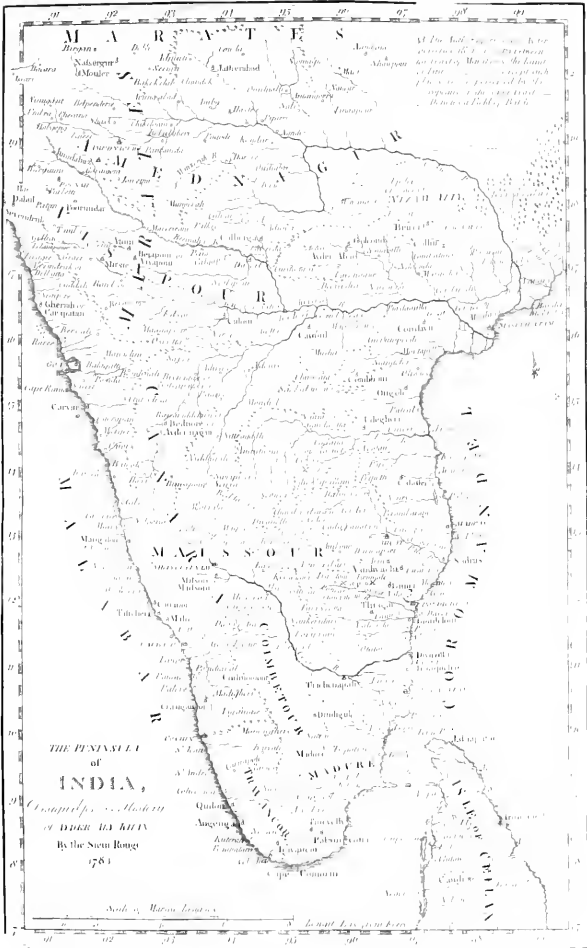
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THE
H I S T O R Y
O F
AYDER ALI KHAN,
N A B O B - B A H A D E R :

O R,
New Memoirs concerning the *East Indies*.

WITH HISTORICAL NOTES.

By M. M. D. L. T.

General of Ten thousand Men in the Army of the Mogol Empire, and formerly Commander in Chief of the Artillery of Ayder Ali, and of a Body of European Troops in the Service of that Nabob.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

L O N D O N :

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ADVERTISEMENT.

THE proper names of places, persons, and things, are for the most part given, in this Translation, according to the orthography of the original; and a few expressions that relate to the state of affairs at the time the History was composed are still retained, though subsequent events, particularly the death of Ayder, have rendered them less applicable at present.

1781



T H E

AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

THOUGH it is not usual to write the history of a living prince, the great distance which, in the present instance, permits the historian to speak with freedom, will serve as an excuse for the infringement of so just a rule, in the eyes of those who may read the following sheets without prejudice. The writer has adhered to the strictest impartiality, in relating the exploits of the most famous conqueror India has beheld since the time of Thamas Kouli Khan; a prince very much superior to that usurper, as well for the extent of his genius as for the propriety of his conduct, which far exceeds that of the other Indian sovereigns.

It will be easily perceived that the Author has neither endeavoured to flatter nor to calumniate. If the English should find that they are not spared, it will not be in their power to reproach him with having invented any untruth: and there are very many individuals of that nation, who know that he could speak much more effectually to the disadvantage of the English

lish administration in India, if he thought it necessary to reveal such particulars as he himself has seen.

Whether the tyranny which these men have exercised in India be a crime of their nation, or purely their own, is of no importance to the Author in his capacity as an Historian, since he has not made any reflections on the subject in the ensuing pages.

The Generals Coote, Smith, and Goddard, are spoken of with the justice they deserve; which circumstance ought to be of weight to vindicate his impartiality from the reproaches that interested and prejudiced readers will doubtless be ready to make.

If any of his recitals should be contrary to the ideas of certain persons acquainted with the same events, he begs they will please to make a distinction between the facts he himself has been witness to, and those he could only learn from the information of others.

The persons cited in the course of the history, and who may be now in Europe, are appealed to with confidence to assert the truth of what is here attributed to them. With regard to other facts, it is requested that they will believe this narration in preference to what may have been written to them by men who have not been

in the same confidential situation as the Author, and have likewise reasons for disguising the truth, that can have no influence upon him.

The true dignity and importance of history is placed in truth. It has not therefore been in his power to spare such of his countrymen as have behaved unworthily : but, out of consideration for their respectable families, he has been careful to omit mentioning their names ; which is the only tenderness he has indulged himself in. The following work is not strictly confined to the actions of Ayder Ali Khan ; but is likewise intended to give an accurate idea of the revolutions that have taken place in India, previous to the aggrandizement of that great prince : for the purpose of satisfying the reader on this head, it is thought proper to prefix an Historical Introduction, that will render him acquainted with the genius and character of the personages spoken of.

The account of particular circumstances relating to the Life of Ayder Ali Khan, that follows the Introduction, gives an idea of his person, considered as a man, a general, and a soldier. The Author hopes that it will serve to make the private character of the Nabob better known than those of most European sovereigns. A perfect acquaintance with the men that surround

round a king, will often give the most accurate knowledge of his own manners and inclinations. With this intention, the portraits of some of the relations as well as of the intimate friends of Ayder are given.

There has not yet appeared any work that explains the principles of government of the princes now reigning in Indostan : it is therefore hoped that the Public will receive with pleasure the detail here given of the establishments, laws, customs, and forms of government that prevail in Ayder's dominions. The English have lately published the laws and customs of the Hindoos : but Indostan has been so long governed by Mahometan princes, that this code of the ancient Hindoo laws instructs us in the present government of India, nearly as much as the laws of the ancient Druids are capable of explaining the administration and government of the present French nation.

It is thought proper to give a map, on which all the operations of Ayder may be followed. It was not possible to do this on any of the charts hitherto published, as there is not one among them that gives a plan of Indostan sufficiently just to be of any service to a traveller.

One of the greatest difficulties that attend the construction of maps of India, arises from the
different

different names that are given to provinces and towns, in the different languages spoken in India. Three-fourths of the names given by the ancient inhabitants of the place, are not known even on the spot. This arises from the custom of the Moors or Mogols, who have changed the greater part of the names, and it is the Mogol names that are commonly used. In the map annexed to these Memoirs, the names most in use are adopted; and the differences between this and other maps are founded on local knowledge and good observations.

The Author can with justice indulge the hope that these Memoirs will not be confounded with those rhapsodies that have appeared within the last three or four years, under the title of *Essais sur la Vie*, and *Abrégés de l'Histoire d'Hyder Ali*, which were evidently fabricated by people who have not only been totally unacquainted with Ayder, but even entirely without any memoirs, except those tales that have occasionally appeared in the public papers. From these materials, copied with servility, they have formed compositions which they have had the assurance to offer as original to the Public, under a variety of pompous titles. It was from a view of these inaccurate and fictitious compilations, that the Author was induced to write the History he now presents

to the world. As an eye-witness of part of his conquests, and of the glory that surrounds him, he thought it a kind of duty incumbent on him to make this sovereign known, at an instant in which he has become so interesting to Europe, and to France in particular.

It will be perceived that the orthography of this work differs much from that of the public papers, which always write Hyder, instead of Ayder, his true name. We have the authority of M. Buffi for this mode of spelling, as may be seen by consulting the Memoirs of that gentleman, who resided many years at Ayder Abad, and could not be deceived in the name; any more than others who have been in Ayder's army, where the answer to *Qui vive?* or, *Who are you for?* is always, *Ayder Ali Khan, Nabob Bahader*. The true reason of this is, that all our news-writers copy from the English papers, who write *Hy*, which in their language is pronounced like the French *Ay*. The English, in writing a foreign proper name, use such a combination of letters as gives the original sound to an English reader. And since writing is the picture of speech, or the art of speaking to the eyes, why should not our translators follow their example?

T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F
A Y D E R A L I K H A N.

I N T R O D U C T I O N.

BEFORE we enter upon the History of Ayder Ali Khan, it is necessary to give an account of part of those revolutions, which the invasion of India by Nadir Sha, king of Persia, commonly called Thamas Kouli Khan, occasioned in that extensive empire; and more especially in those provinces that were the theatre of the various scenes we are about to relate.

Nadir Sha, previous to his quitting Delhi for the purpose of returning to his own states,

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B

concluded

concluded a treaty with Mehemet Sha, emperor of the Mogols, in which it was ordained that the charge of Grand Visir, and all the Subaships or viceroyalties *, then nine in number, should be hereditary in the families at that time in possession of them. This article was doubtless a stroke of politics in the Persian conqueror, to divide the force of an empire, whose strength was sufficiently exhibited in the army of 1,200,000 men assembled to oppose him; and which, under an emperor of another disposition, might revenge the insult sustained by Mehemet Sha. But it is likewise to be presumed, that he had previously settled this point; and in putting it in execution, he only forwarded the ambitious views of Nizam El Moulouc, Grand Visir and Suba of Decan, who, in revenge for an affront put upon him by Mehemet Sha, had invited the king of Persia into the empire, and had been the means of

* The title, power, and prerogatives of a Suba cannot be better defined than by translating the word into the terms Vicar-general of the Empire. For this charge bestows a supremacy over the kings and vassals of the empire, which the Suba exercises in the same manner as the emperor himself. Similar to this would be the power of a vicar-general of the empire in Italy, if this dignity were at present possessed of activity and energy.

preserving.

preserving him from the probable effects of so rash an undertaking.

The Subaship of Decan, then in possession of Nizam El Moulouc, constituted at least a third part of the Mogol empire. All the country that extends from the gulf of Cambaya to Bengal, formed part of this Subaship, whose chief cities were Aurengabade and Ayderabade ; and it extended to all the coasts of the hither peninsula, from Cambaya to the gulf of Bengal.

This vast government was divided into many others. Among these were many kingdoms governed by their own kings and particular laws, being no more than tributaries to the empire ; except that they were obliged to furnish a certain number of troops to the army of the Suba, which the kings themselves very often esteemed it an honour to lead in person. The principal of these kingdoms were those of the Marattas, of Canara, and of Mayssour.

Many of these kingdoms and states were scarcely in subjection ; and among them Canara, a country difficult of access from its numerous forests and mountains. The Marattas were no otherwise subjected, than by means of the treaty with the Suba, respecting the payment of the Chotay, or fifth part of the revenue of De-

can, which the emperor Aurengzebe had granted them ; and the great population of their country furnished them with numerous and powerful armies, especially of cavalry, whose incursions were not easily checked : And lastly there were states, which, tho' comprized in the Subaship of Decan, were not yet subjected. Such were the small kingdom of Calicut, or of the Samorins, and the other states of the black princes on the coast of Malabar ; into which the armies of the Mogols were unable to penetrate, by reason of the narrow and difficult entrances through forests and mountains.

Besides the kingdoms and other tributary countries, the Subaship of Decan comprehended several governments, of greater or less magnitude, which were not hereditary, but in the gift of the Suba ; whose nomination, however, required to be confirmed by the emperor.

When the Subaships became hereditary, the Subas pretended to the right of irrevocably nominating those governors, which the Europeans call Nabobs, without the necessity of any confirmation from the court of Dehli.

The Nabobship of Arcot * held the first rank
among

* This History of the Nabobship of Arcot is very different from that given by the Editor of the Memoirs ascribed

among all those governments comprized in the Subaship of Decan, as well for its extent as for its riches and population. For it contains all the country, known by the name of Coromandel, that lies between the mountains and the sea coast, from Cape Comorin to Kishna, a river which, after running over a course of more than five hundred leagues, all within the Subaship of Decan, falls into the sea near Mazulipatnam.

ascribed to general Lawrence. It is necessary, in that work, to distinguish the reports of the Author himself from the account of the expeditions of general Lawrence. The latter is generally true, excepting that the French forces are magnified in number, and the English diminished; so as frequently to produce contradictions. As to the Editor of those Memoirs, it will be sufficient to form a judgment of him, if we recollect that he affirms, that, previous to the time in which Ali Buxi followed Mouzaferzing, the Europeans were ignorant of what passed at the court of the Indian princes, their nearest neighbours. He affirms likewise, in his introduction, that his work is designed to exhibit or make known the rights of Mehemet Ali Khan. With this intention, he is careful to avoid every thing that can serve to render him odious, as well as his father Anaverdi Khan. To shew, from an incontestable fact, that this Editor was not in possession of accurate information, we need only observe, that he gives Nizam El Moulouc no more than four sons, though he left six. The two that are omitted by him are still living. The one is named Bazaletzing, and the other Mirs Mogol.

This government, though held only at the pleasure of the Suba, had been very long in possession of the same family, a branch of the Seyds, or descendants of Mahomet, by Ali his cousin and Fatima his daughter. The princes of this illustrious family were adored by their subjects, for having rendered the country rich and populous by the mildness and moderation of their government.

Several lords of the same family, as the Nabobs * of Veilour, Vandevachi, &c. possessed small tracts of country, which they had received *en appanage* † ; but they acknowledged the Nabob of Arcot as their superior, and the chief of their family. This Nabobship of Arcot comprehended also several less states, as that of the Raja of Tanjaor, of the Naies of Madura, and of Mazara, &c. who were tributaries, and obliged to furnish a quota of troops to the Nabob's army.

In the year 1740, the Marattas made an incursion into the Subaship of Decan, in the absence of Nizam El Moulouc, Grand Visir

* The signification of the word Nabob will be hereafter explained.

† Lands are given *en appanage*, when they are in lieu of the future right of succession to the whole, of which they are a part.

and Suba ; and, spreading like a torrent, they arrived at the country of Arcot, under the conduct of Ragogi their general.

The Nabob of Arcot * having collected his forces, which were by no means equal to those of the Marattas, marched against them, and lost both the victory and his life.

This unfortunate Nabob left an only son †, who succeeded him in his government. The rest of his family sought an asylum at Pondicherry, where the Sieur Dumas, then governor, received and promised to protect them, in return for the repeated advantages the French had received from the Nabobs of Arcot, since their first establishment in India.

Ragogi laid siege to Pondicherry, whose fortifications were in a very indifferent state. He demanded the governor to deliver up to him the family of the Nabob, and to pay him tribute. The spirited answer of the governor is well known. He replied, that *the dominions of the King of France had always been the asylum of unfortunate Princes ; and that the French had no other tribute to give than bullets and*

* Daoust Ali Khan.

† Sabder Ali Khan.

balls. A piece of gallantry made to the mistresses of the Maratta general, contributed, together with the activity of the besieged, to induce Ragogi to raise the siege.

The same general, in the following year, besieged Trichnapoli, a strong place on the river Caveri. It surrendered for want of provision; and Chanda Saeb, the Nabob of the country, became prisoner, and was carried to Sattara. Nizam El Moulouc, being informed of the irruption of the Marattas and the death of the Nabob of Arcot, who was assassinated, nominated Anaverdi Khan, one of his best generals, a man of address and of consummate knowledge in politics and the science of government, regent and administrator of the government of Arcot, during the minority of the young prince, Seyd Mehemet Khan, grandson of Daoust Ali Khan. Anaverdi Khan, who then (in 1742) commanded the forces of the Suba of Decan to the northward of Masulipatnam, very soon arrived at Arcot. On the other side, Nizam El Moulouc advancing by forced marches to the relief of his dominions, Ragogi abandoned the country of Arcot, and retired into the country of the Marattas.

Anaverdi

Anaverdi Khan restored tranquillity and good order to the country entrusted to his charge, and made his government beloved both by the people and the army. He seemed at first to be exceedingly attached to the young prince, and was very attentive to the care of his education. But this insidious politician, whose desires tended solely to the acquisition of his pupil's territories, was careful to inspire the young prince with a degree of haughtiness and avidity capable of rendering him odious, at the same time that he was himself courting every day more and more the affection of the people and the army.

When the young prince became of an age proper to marry, he advised him to espouse the daughter of the Nabob of Veilour, one of his near relations. This Nabob having accepted the alliance with joy, proposed to give superb entertainments on the occasion of the marriage, according to the ordinary custom of the Indians, who are much attached to pomp and ceremony in circumstances of this nature.

During the time of the preparation for the nuptials, at the beginning of the year 1744, Anaverdi Khan inspired the young prince, who had the highest confidence in his tutor, with the

absurd idea of profiting by the tumult of the occasion, to get possession of Veilour, and rob his future father-in-law of the fortress, which was the strongest in all the country, and contained, as it was said, a great mass of treasure. The young Nabob, whose heart was already corrupted, approved highly of this advice, and resolved to put it in execution. He repaired to Veilour, where it was concerted that Anaverdi Khan should cause soldiers to come as simple spectators, who, joining at once with the prince's retinue and those who accompanied Anaverdi Khan, should put the garrison of Veilour to the sword, and take possession of the place, according to the orders of the young prince. But the perfidious tutor, who had devised this conspiracy with no other intention than that of betraying his pupil into destruction, sent but a small number of soldiers; and caused the Nabob of Veilour to be advised secretly of the design of his nephew, the evening before he had appointed to come himself to the place. His hope was, that the Nabob, enraged at the perfidy of his future son-in-law, would put him to death. In this, however, he was disappointed; for the Nabob contented himself with reproaching the young man publicly

hily with his crime ; and caused him to leave the place immediately, with all his followers.

The event of this contrivance having turned out contrary to the expectations of Anaverdi Khan, he soon after formed another plot, which succeeded in accomplishing the destruction of the young Nabob.

Nizam El Moulouc being desirous of possessing an army, which, though composed of different Indian nations become effeminate by a long peace, should nevertheless be fit for the purposes of war, had with that intention invited into his dominions a great number of Patanes, or inhabitants of Candahar, the remains of those Agwans who had conquered Persia, and whom Nadir Sha, after having chased them out of that fertile kingdom, had pursued even to their own mountains. He had even bestowed among the chiefs of them Nabobships, or fiefs of the empire ; whence arose the Patane Nabobs of Carpet, Canour, and Sannour,—a numerous corps of these Patanes, who composed part of the Nabob of Arcot's army, and to whom, at that time, considerable sums were due for pay. These people are courageous ; but ferocious, cruel, and perfidious,

fidious, when they believe themselves ill-treated. Anaverdi Khan assembled these Patanes at Arcot, under the pretence of causing them to pass in review before their prince; and, by his secret agents, excited them to demand the arrears of pay due to them. He did not fail to advise the young Nabob, that the method to enforce respect from his troops, was to threaten them with the chastisement due to their insolence. The prince, who was but too much inclined to speak with haughtiness and contempt, treated them in the severest manner. A revolt was the consequence; and, in their fury, they did not spare even the Nabob himself, but put him to the sword. This event happened early in the year 1745.

Anaverdi Khan, arrived at the height of his desires, affected to be oppressed with the utmost despair and sorrow. He continued for some time to deplore the loss of his pupil; but at length becoming gradually more moderate, and the Patanes appearing to be concerned for the effects of their ferocity, he persuaded them that he would refer the affair to the decision of Nizam. But in the mean time he secretly assembled the chiefs of all the other corps of the army, and represented to them, that, since
the

the Grand Vifir would confound them all with the criminals, there was but one way of justifying themselves, namely, to extirpate the Patanes. The insolent ferocity of those soldiers had rendered them odious to all the other Indians; and the advice of Anaverdi Khan was therefore universally approved of. The effect of their deliberation was kept a profound secret; and they seized an opportunity so favourable to their purpose, that all the Patanes, to the number of 3000, were massacred, the women and children only being spared*.

Anaverdi Khan, having at length finished this horrible carnage, wrote to Nizam El Moulouc the history of the catastrophe of the young

* As these anecdotes are differently related elsewhere, it may happen that many, who think themselves intimately acquainted with the history of India, may demand, How the Writer of these Memoirs could acquire his knowledge of them? To anticipate this question, it is answered, that they cannot but know that the court and army of Ayder are filled with the relations and servants of the ancient family of the Nabobs of Arcot. Such are Razasaeb, the Nabob of Vandevachi, the son-in-law and nephew of the Nabob of Veilour; Affinsaeb, an old man of great merit, formerly grand-treasurer of the Nabobs of Arcot, and exercising

young Nabob of Arcot, and the punishment he had caused to be inflicted on the Patanes ; arranging the whole account to his own advantage. The Grand Vifir, Suba of Decan, concluded that he could not do better than to bestow the Nabobship on Anaverdi Khan ; as the family of the ancient Nabobs was extinct, and Chanda Saeb, who by right of his wife might pretend to it, was prisoner among the Marattas.

At the end of the year 1745, Anaverdi Khan was established Nabob of Arcot, but did not succeed in procuring the same respect for his government as had attended his regency. He had several children. Maffous Khan, his eldest son, was designed for his successor ; but his predilection was in favour of a son whom the

exercising the same office under Ayder Ali Khan. In the same army are likewise Baoud Khan and Savay Khan, brothers, and chiefs of the Patanes, strongly attached to the French ; and, by reason of their youth, spared in the massacre caused by Anaverdi Khan. The Author of this work being desirous of informing himself in the history of India, cultivated the friendship of all these persons ; who took a pleasure in relating the history of the misfortunes of their family, their nation, and their ancient masters. It is from them that he has learned the facts he relates in this place.

law

law excluded from the succession, as being born out of the house, and by a Bayadere, or woman reputed common.—He gave Trichnapoli, a strong place on the Caveri, with a considerable territory, to this son, who was named Mehemet Ali Khan.

Anaverdi Khan was in quiet possession of the fruit of his crimes, when Providence raised up an avenger of the family of the Nabobs of Arcot. This man was the famous Dupleix, whom the French King and East India Company, in 1746, called from the employment of director and commandant of Chandanagor, and appointed governor of Pondicherry.

This great man, after having acquired much glory by his brave defence of Pondicherry against Admiral Boscawen, whom he forced to raise the siege, received the news of the peace between France and England in the year 1747. In this juncture he thought it necessary, for the honour and advantage of his nation, to punish Anaverdi Khan for the assistance he had afforded the English during the siege, by furnishing them with troops on that occasion : being likewise well assured, that this new family would always oppose the interests

terests of the French, who had shewn so strong an attachment to the family of Seyd. His first step was to procure an antagonist to Anaverdi Khan, by his negociations with the Marattas; who were by that means induced to set at liberty Chanda Saeb, Nabob of Trichnapoli, who had espoused the sister of the last Nabob of Arcot, and whose wife and son had taken refuge at Pondicherry.

Chanda Saeb being thus restored to his liberty, repaired immediately to the court of Nazerzing, who succeeded his father Nizam El Moulouc in the Subaship of Decan in 1748. It was in vain that he solicited this young prince to re-establish him in the Nabobship of Arcot, as the inheritance of his wife, or at least in his town and fortress of Trichnapoli: the intrigues and the money of Anaverdi Khan prevented his success with the Suba. But he was more fortunate in his application to Idadmoudi Khan, king of the little state of Adonis, and nephew of Nazerzing. This young prince, the son of an elder brother of the Suba, had been designed by Nizam El Moulouc as his successor; but that Visir perceiving himself at the point of death, and his grandson very
young,

young, nominated and caused his son Nazer-izing to be acknowledged his successor.

Chanda Saeb persuaded the young prince of Adonis, that it was proper for him to request the Nabobship of Arcot of his uncle; the extent and value of this last being much more considerable than the territory of Adonis. The nephew consequently made his request, which met with a refusal from his uncle, whose jealousy made him averse to a step that tended to increase the power of his nephew. Idadmoudi Khan, urged on by Chanda Saeb and M. Dupleix, raised an army of 60,000 men, with which, accompanied by Chanda Saeb, he arrived in the country of Arcot in July 1749, where he was joined by the French, to the number of 600 men and 2,000 Seapoys, commanded by the Comte D'Auteuil. This army marched against Anaverdi Khan, who had assembled all his force, and encamped near Ambour. After having repulsed his antagonists for two successive days, his entrenchments were forced by the French on the third; and he lost the victory and his life at the age of eighty-two years. His two sons, Massous Khan and Mehemet Ali Khan, were present at this battle. The first was made prisoner, and the other fled to the for-

trefts of Trichnapoli. Every other part of the country acknowledged the grandson of Nizam El Moulouc, as Nabob of Arcot.

Nazerzing, jealous of the accession of power that Idadmoudi Khan had acquired, contrary to his orders affembled his army, and marched into the country of Arcot againft him, Chanda Saeb, and the French who had affifted him in his undertaking. And in the month of February 1750, he arrived within fix leagues of Pondicherry, with an innumerable army.

The ancient minifters and courtiers of Nizam El Moulouc, fhocked to behold this diffention, attempted to reconcile the uncle and the nephew. They concerted among themfelves, that the nephew fhould repair to his uncle's camp, and make his fubmiffion; and that the uncle fhould inveft him with the authority of Nabob of Arcot. Idadmoudi Khan, on the affurances of the lords who had offered themfelves as mediators, repaired to the camp of Nazerzing; who, inftead of giving him the appointment of Nabob, caufed him to be arrefted.

This treachery of the Suba of Decan occafioned a general difguft in his whole army. The lords confpired his deftruction, and corresponded with

with the governor Dupleix, who caused the French army, consisting of 800 French and 4,000 Seapoys, under M. de la Touche, to march against the army of Nazerzing, consisting of more than 300,000 fighting men. But this handful of French, aided by the conspirators, were sufficient to decide the fate of so powerful a prince, who was slain on his elephant by the Patane Nabob of Carpet, one of the conspirators. His nephew Idadmoudi Khan succeeded to his government, as Suba, in the month of December, in the same year.

It is at this æra that the history of Ayder Ali Khan commences in these Memoirs. He was then at the head of a small quota of troops in Nazerzing's army, being about twenty-two years old. It would be difficult to trace his actions from a more remote period; because, being born a private individual, no person has taken the pains to collect the facts that relate to his infancy. They were far from beholding the avenger of India, in the soldier of Nazerzing; or the scourge of the English, in the army that then fought against the French.

Idadmoudi Khan, who assumed the name of Mouza Ferzing, expressed his gratitude to M. Dupleix and all the French, and gave the Na-

bobship of Arcot to Chanda Saeb. In his return to Ayder Abad, his capital, he was accompanied by M. de Buffi, at the head of a body of French troops ; but he was not fortunate enough to arrive at the end of his voyage, the Patanes having slain him in a sedition. At the beginning of 1751, his uncle Salaberzing, brother of Nazerzing, succeeded him, and had the same affection for the French as his nephew. Mr. Lally having recalled M. Buffi, in 1758, from the court and army of Salaberzing, this prince, whose disposition was good, though his abilities were not great, was assassinated by his brother Nizam Ali Khan, who is at present Suba of Decan, and will frequently be mentioned in the course of the following History.

The English having always supported the family of Anaverdi Khan, preferred Mehemet Ali Khan to his eldest brother ; and caused him to be acknowledged Nabob of Arcot in the treaty of Fontainebleau, after having assisted him to impoverish all the princes of the ancient family of the Nabobs of Arcot. Chanda Saeb had the misfortune to fall into the hands of the English, who were cruel enough to deliver him to Menagi, general of the troops at

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Tanjaor,

Tanjaor, who caused him to be beheaded in the month of June 1752. This crime, though yet unrevenge'd, will not pass unpunished; for Ayder Ali has promised the dominions of the Raja of Tanjaor to Raza Saeb, son of Chanda Saeb.

This succinct account of the revolutions in India, is sufficient to serve as an introduction to the History of Ayder Ali Khan.

Note.—The Cofs is an Indian measure of distance, which answers nearly to 2500 toises, or a few yards more than an English league.

PARTICULAR CIRCUMSTANCES
 RELATING TO THE
 PERSON, HABITS, AND MANNERS
 OF
 AYDER ALI KHAN.

AYDER Ali Khan, whose precise age is not known, ought to be about fifty-four or fifty-six years of age, if we may depend on those who have known him from his infancy. He is about five feet six inches high, and very lusty, though active, and capable of bearing fatigue as well on foot as on horseback. His complexion is very brown, as is that of all Indians who expose themselves to the air and the sun. His features are coarse, his nose small and turned up, his lower lip rather thick; and he wears neither beard nor whiskers, contrary to the custom of the Orientals, especially the Mahometans. His habits, like those of all the natives of India, are of white muslin,

muffin, with a turban of the same. His robe is fashioned nearly the same as those of the European ladies, which are called *à l'Angloise*. The body and sleeves fit neatly, and are drawn close by strings; the rest of the robe being ample, and in folds: so that when the Indian great men walk, a page supports their train, from their first stepping off the carpet to their entering into their carriages.

In the army, Ayder Ali wears a military habit invented by himself for his generals. It is an uniform composed of a vest of white sattin, with gold flowers, faced with yellow, and attached by cords or strings of the same colour: the drawers are of the same materials; and the boots of yellow velvet. He wears a scarf of white silk about his waist; and, with the military habit, his turban is of a red or aurora colour. When he is on foot, he commonly uses a gold-headed cane; and sometimes on horseback he wears a sabre, hanging by a belt of velvet embroidered with gold, and fastened over his shoulder by a clasp of gold, enriched with some precious stones.

He never wears jewelry either on his turban or his clothes; and never uses either necklace, ear-pendants, or bracelets. His turban

is very long, and flat at top. In this particular he follows the ancient mode; as well as in his slippers, which are very large, and have a long point turned back, resembling the roofs of the buildings in some countries up the Levant; or those slippers anciently worn in France, and called *Souliers à la poulaine*. The petits maîtres of his and other Indian courts affect to wear little bonnets which scarcely cover the tops of their heads, and slippers so small as scarce to admit the points of their feet: but though in these and other respects their taste is so different from that of Ayder and his son, yet to imitate him as much as possible in the article of beard and whiskers, without infringing the precepts of the Alcoran, they reduce their beard and moustaches to a moustache scarcely discernible.

The countenance of Ayder, though not handsome, is open, and calculated to inspire confidence. He has not acquired the habit of disguising his aspect, which is either gay or overspread with chagrin, according to the occasions that present themselves. He possesses a facility of conversing on any subject; and has none of that stateliness and taciturnity, which almost all the other princes of the East affect

affect to preserve. When he receives a stranger, he is reserved, and appears to speak with gravity; but soon recovers his usual ease, and converses with all the world, repeating himself the news and common conversation of the day, with the greatest affability. It is most astonishing, that this sovereign asks questions, gives answers, hears a letter read, and dictates an answer to another, beholds a theatrical exhibition, and even seems to attend to the performance,—at the same instant that he decides concerning things of the utmost importance.

There is no sovereign more easy of access to every one that has business with him, whether strangers or subjects; and the former, whatever may be their quality, are always sure to be introduced into his presence, by demanding an audience, by a Souquedar, or mace-bearer, of which there is always a sufficient number at the gate of his palace. The Fakirs, a species of begging monks, are alone excluded from this indulgence; but when one of these appears, he is conducted to the Pirjada, or grand almoner, who supplies his wants. The court of Ayder is, in this point, absolutely different from those of all the other princes

princes of India ; who hold these Fakirs in such high veneration, that they suffer them to enter their palaces at any hour, and even admit them to their table. They have the assurance to take the first place at table, nearest the prince ; though they are most commonly disgusting, filthy, and covered with vermin.

When business or parties of pleasure do not prevent Ayder Ali from going to rest at his usual time, which is after midnight, he rises with the sun, that is to say, about six o'clock. As soon as he is risen, the majors of the army *, who have been on duty the preceding day and night, and likewise those who relieve them, enter, make their reports, and receive orders to be transmitted to the ministers and generals, who themselves have the privilege of entering his dressing-room, if they have any thing extraordinary or pressing to communicate. The couriers that have arrived during the night, or in the morning, also come and lay their dispatches at his feet. It may be esteemed a weakness in a prince so occupied, that his toi-

* These majors of the army are like adjutants-general. They are not persons of distinction, but men of approved diligence and fidelity, chosen out of the subaltern officers of cavalry and infantry.

let takes up a considerable part of his time. It lasts commonly two or three hours ; and is chiefly taken up by his barbers, who pluck the hairs from his beard.

But justice requires us likewise to observe, that when any military operation requires his attention, the toilet is no more thought of.

Between eight and nine in the morning he quits his apartment, and repairs to a saloon, where a number of secretaries wait for his appearance. Into their hands, according to their respective departments, he puts the letters received ; giving them at the same time instructions for the answers. His sons, his relations, and those lords who are honoured with his intimacy, enter ; and if it be nine o'clock, they take the usual refreshment. If he has leisure, he appears at a balcony, and receives the salute of his elephants *, that are led before him, as well as his horses. His tygers of chace likewise pay him a visit. They are led by hand, and are covered with a mantle of green and gold hanging to the ground, and

* When the prince appears at the balcony, his officers cry out, " Your elephants salute your Majesty : " And at the same time those animals, who are ranged in a semicircle round the palace, make three genuflections.

a bonnet

a bonnet on their head, of cloth embroidered with gold, with which their eyes can be immediately covered, if they should chance to prove mischievous. Ayder himself gives each of them a ball of sweetmeats, which they take very adroitly with their paws, being exceedingly tame. These are the spotted tygers, and their keepers lead them every day into those places where the greatest crowds are : but the grand tyger, or tyger royal, has never been tamed by any attempts yet made.

After the repast, which ends about half after ten, Ayder enters into the hall of audience ; or the grand tent, if at the army. He is seated on a sofa beneath a canopy, and very often in some balcony that fronts an open place or court of the palace ; and some of his relations sit on each side of him. All persons who have permission or access, of which the number is very great, may come to this audience ; and those who have affairs to transact, may either request admittance by means of the Souquedars, or put their request into the hands of those officers by whom it is carried to their chief, who is always present, and who places it at the feet of the prince, where it is immediately read and answered. It is not customary
here

here to stop the prince by the offer of petitions, when he goes out, unless the affair be very urgent and extraordinary, or the petitioner has been prevented from forwarding his request at the usual hours of audience : a circumstance that very rarely happens *.

At

* In the year 1767, Ayder being at Coilmoutour, and going out with his retinue, about five in the evening, to take the air, an old woman prostrated herself, and cried out, Justice! — Ayder immediately caused his carriage to stop; made a sign to her to come forward, and demanded her request. She answered, My Lord, I had but one daughter, and Aggi Mahmout has ravished her from me. Ayder replied, Aggi Mahmout has been gone hence more than a month; how does it happen that you have waited till this time without complaining? — My Lord, I have given many requests into the hands of Ayder Sha, and have received no answer. — This Ayder Sha, who was the chief usher, preceded the Nabob, bearing a large collar of gold, as a mark of his dignity. He advanced, and said, This woman, as well as her daughter, are of infamous repute, and live in a disgraceful manner. The Nabob gave orders to return instantly to the palace, and commanded the woman to follow him. All the court were in great apprehension for the officer, who was much beloved; and no person daring to intercede for him, the son of Ayder begged the commandant of Europeans to endeavour to procure his pardon. He accordingly requested it of Ayder, who refused it with much severity. I cannot grant your request,

At this audience thirty or forty secretaries are seated along the wall to his left, who write continually: Couriers arrive almost every instant, and are conducted with great noise and

request, said he: there is no greater crime than that of interrupting the communication between a sovereign and his subjects. It is the duty of the powerful to see that the weak have justice. The sovereign is the only protector God has given them; and the prince who suffers oppression to pass unpunished among his subjects, is deservedly deprived of their affection and confidence, and at last compels them to revolt against him. He then gave orders to punish Ayder Sha with two hundred stripes on the parade; and at the same time commanded an officer of his Abyssinian horse-guard to repair immediately with the woman to the country seat at which Aggi Mahmout then was. If he found the girl, his orders were, to deliver her to her mother, and return with the head of Aggi Mahmout; but if she was not found, he was charged to conduct Aggi Mahmout to Coilmoutour. The girl was found, and the head of the criminal was brought to Ayder. Aggi Mahmout was then sixty years old, had been chief usher to Ayder Ali twenty-five years, and was succeeded in his office by Ayder Sha; at which time the Nabob had given him a Zoghir, or considerable district of land, as a reward for his services. This man was enamoured of the girl, and had carried her off, upon her mother's refusing to sell her to him, because she subsisted by prostituting her.—The Alcoran condemns the ravisher of a girl or woman to death.

bustle to the feet of the prince, where they lay their dispatches. A secretary kneeling takes the packet ; and sitting on his hams before the prince, opens it and reads the letter. Ayder immediately dictates the particulars of the answer, and the letter is carried to the office of a minister; contrary to the customs of the princes of the East, who affix their names by means of a seal. Ayder signs the dispatches in order as they are completed, as well as a number of private orders. Many writers report the contrary to this ; which only proves that they have never seen Ayder half an hour at a time. The orders that issue from the offices of the ministers, have no other signature than that of the great seal, of which they are the depositories ; and the dispatch is closed with the private seal of the minister. The letters signed by Ayder are closed by the seal of the sovereign, of which the principal secretary is guardian. When this Nabob writes any interesting letter, or gives an order of importance, he affixes a particular or private seal, which he always wears on his finger ; and in that case he himself carries the packet to one of his couriers, who conveys it as far as the first station. To the packet is joined a paper, denoting the hour it was sent off ;

off; and at every station the time of its arrival is marked. We shall afterwards have occasion to speak of these posts, which have been since imitated by the English.

If Ayder purchases horses or elephants, or if new pieces of cannon have been founded or brought from any port or arsenal, he inspects them during this audience; the animals or pieces of cannon being brought into the court or square of the palace.

Ministers, generals, ambassadors, and other great men, rarely appear at this audience, unless commanded, or unless urged by extraordinary affairs. It is peculiar to their dignity to see the prince only in the evening, when none but men of consequence are admitted; and nothing else is thought of but to make their court to the sovereign, or to share his pleasures. The great have agents, who are usually Bramins, who solicit their affairs either with the prince or his ministers; and these agents, who have the title of Ouaquils, or envoys, have their leave of admission to the presence when they have been presented by their masters, and are honourably received. The ministers send one of the principal secretaries of their department to the prince; who, sitting before him in the

same posture as the other secretaries, communicate their business, and converse with him.

A great ambassador, or other person of consequence, is announced in a loud voice by the chief of the ushers, in these terms, "Your Majesty, the Lord of — salutes you." Ministers, secretaries, ouaquils, or other men of business, are not announced, but go in and out without particular observation, except that they are careful to salute the Nabob. When a great man is announced, the prince returns the salute, and begs him to be seated: the friends and other great men, who surround the sovereign, salute him also; and, in proportion to the esteem or favour he is in with the Nabob, they give place, that he may approach him. A person of ordinary rank, who has requested an audience, makes three reverences in entering, by moving his hand from his forehead almost to the ground; and afterwards places himself on one side of the chief usher, continuing silent, with his hands joined before him. The Nabob returns the salute by simply touching his turban with his hand, and affects to continue the discourse with those about him: after which he makes a sign for the person to advance, and demands, in an engaging and aff-

fectionate manner, the subject of his visit : and upon the exposition of the affair by the suppliant, he receives a decisive answer. If he be a stranger of a genteel rank or employment, as a trader or merchant of consequence, he receives orders to sit ; and his place is usually on the right, fronting the secretaries. The Nabob asks him some questions respecting his state of life, his country, or his voyage, and appoints a time when he will see his merchandizes. Betel is then presented to the stranger, and is understood as equivalent to a permission to retire ; which is done with the same ceremony as at the entrance.

This audience continues till after three o'clock, which is the hour he returns to his apartment to sleep, or make the siesta, as it is called in Italy.

About half past five, the prince returns into the hall of audience, or some other large apartment, where he places himself in a balcony to see his troops exercise, and his cavalry defile before him. He is, as in the morning, surrounded by some of his friends or relations ; and the secretaries are busied in reading letters, or writing.

About half after six, when the day closes in, a great number of Manelfalgis, or bearers of

flambeaux, appear in the court of the palace, and salute the prince as they pass on the side of the apartment where he is. They illuminate all the apartments in a moment, especially that in which the Nabob is, with tapers in chandeliers of exquisite workmanship, ornamented with festoons of flowers of the utmost lightness and delicacy. These chandeliers, on account of the wind, are covered with large shades of English glass. There are likewise, in some parts of the palace, large glass lanterns, painted with flowers of all colours. The great men, ministers, and ambassadors, visit the Nabob only at night. They are usually perfumed with the most costly perfumes. Besides the men in power and employment, the apartments are filled with young nobility; and every body assumes the most polite and engaging manners. After having saluted the prince, the salute is paid to his sons and relations, his ministers, and others, in an easy, unaffected manner. Among the young nobility, there are a certain number who have the title of Arabsbequi; which answers nearly to that of chamberlain, in Germany. There are ordinarily four in waiting each day: they are distinguished by their sabre, which

they carry in their hand in the sheath, using it nearly as a walking-stick. All the other company leave their arms in the hands of their pages and other attendants, who are very numerous, and fill the avenues of the palace. The pages alone are permitted to enter : they follow their master, bearing his train into the apartments, till they quit their slippers at their stepping on the carpet : the pages then let fall the train, and put the slippers in a bag. Ayder, who sets no great value on these ceremonies, permits the Europeans to come in with their shoes on ; though his apartments are commonly covered with white muslin, spread upon the most superb Persia carpets. He has such a predilection for white, that he causes wainscotting, that is painted, gilt, and varnished, to be covered with white muslin ; and even chairs and sofas of embroidered velvet or gold stuff. The Europeans deceive themselves exceedingly in supposing, that it is by way of distinction or pre-eminence that they are permitted to enter the apartments in shoes. This permission, given them in some of the Indian courts, is occasioned by a notion the Indian princes have, that the Europeans are obstinate, and bigotted to their own customs,

however repugnant to decency and propriety. M. de Buffi, to conciliate the Indian customs with those of the French, carried velvet slippers to the court of the Suba of Decan, which he put on; and made use of a kind of pantoufle in passing from his carriage to the border of the carpet, where he threw them off. We may often avoid offending strangers by little attentions that cost nothing, and tend exceedingly to conciliate their affections.

There is, for the most part, a comedy every night, that commences about eight in the evening, and lasts till eleven: it is intermixed with dances and songs. During this comedy, the Arabesqui continue near the strangers, and politely inform them of every thing they may desire to know; as the subject of the comedy, the news of the day, &c. They are careful to ask, if he chuses to drink or eat; in which case, they cause sherbet, warm milk, fruits, or confectionary to be presented to him; but they seldom eat. If the stranger chuses to play chess, they play with him, or propose a party. Ayder, to whom the entertainments of the stage are very indifferent, discourses with his ministers or ambassadors, sometimes passing into a cabinet

to speak with more secrecy ; and continues, as in the morning, to dispatch business, without seeming to be busy. Almost always, before the end of the performance, flowers are brought to him in a basket of filigram, out of which he himself gives a few to the lords who are about him ; and afterwards the basket is carried into the apartments of the theatre, every one taking a small flower from them, and returning a profound reverence to the prince. This takes place even to the lowest secretary. When Ayder wishes to give a particular mark of his esteem, he himself makes a collar of jasmine flowers, knotting them with silk as he converses, which he himself adjusts round the neck of the happy mortal to whom he gives this glorious mark of his esteem and favour. He has several times conferred this honour on the chiefs of his Europeans, knowing well that the French, above all nations, esteem themselves well paid by this sort of money. He who has received this honour, is visited the following day by the first people of the court to compliment him.

If a battle has been gained, or any other glorious event has happened in favour of the prince, the poet of the court arrives, announcing

ing himself, at his first entering the apartments, by the pompous and extravagant titles he bestows on the prince: as, “ Health to the
 “ greatest king on earth, whose name alone
 “ causes his enemies to tremble,” &c. All the world, at the voice of the poet, becomes silent and attentive. The comedy or dance is interrupted; the poet enters, seats himself in the place immediately opposite the prince, and recites a poem, which every body affects to hear with the utmost attention, except the prince, who seems at that time to be more particularly busied in conversing with his ministers. The poet usually, after speaking of the prince, proceeds to his relations, and the generals or principal officers; not forgetting the ministers and favourites. The young courtiers, or *baras à demi*, who are usually included altogether in the praises bestowed by the poet, often turn it into ridicule; and their derision extends even to those who are the highest spoken of. They and the secretaries, or other inferior courtiers, often parody the words of the poem very pleasantly, sparing nobody but the prince and his son: but as they have no printing, both the poem and the criticism are of short duration. We cannot

speak of their public entertainments, without mentioning the Bayaderes, of whom the Abbé Raynal has drawn so advantageous a portrait in his *Histoire Philosophique*.

At the present time, the court of Ayder is the most brilliant in India ; and his company of performers is without contradiction the first, as well on account of its riches, as because the Bayaderes are the women to whom he gives the preference. Being sovereign of part of Visapour, he has every facility of procuring, among this class of women, those who are most remarkable for their beauty and talents.

The comedians of the court are all women. A directress, who is likewise manager, purchases young girls at the age of four or five years, who are chosen on account of their beauty. She causes them to be inoculated, and then provides them with masters both for dancing and music. They are taught every accomplishment that can inspire the prince and his court with the love of pleasure ; and their success is such, that they delight and seduce the most insensible of men. They begin to appear in public at the age of about ten or eleven years. They have generally the most delicate features, large dark eyes, beautiful eye-brows, small

small mouth, and the finest teeth ; their cheeks are dimpled, and their black hair hangs in flowing tresses to the ground ; their complexion is a clear brown, not such as that of the Mulatto women, who are incapable of blushing ; but like that of a country girl in the flow of health, who has preserved the roses, after suffering the lillies to fade. These are the yellow women, that the Orientals prefer to all others : they give themselves that tinge by painting their cheeks of a jonquil colour, in the same manner as the French women use rouge ; and it is remarkable that in a very short time one becomes habituated to this colour, and finds it agreeable. Their habit is always a fine gauze, very richly embroidered with gold ; and they are covered with jewels : their head, their neck, their ears, their breasts, their arms, fingers, legs, and toes, have their jewels ; and even their nose is ornamented with a small diamond, that gives them an arch look, which is far from being unpleasing.

The comedies are all pieces of intrigue. They personate either women who league together to deceive a jealous husband, or young girls that conspire to deceive their mother. It is impossible to play with more art or with more natural

ease.

case. Their songs are gay and agreeable. The words that are sung by a single voice are almost always the complaint of a lover. Those which are sung in chorus are much gayer ; but they have no second parts, and are always repeated.

The dancers are superior in their performance to the comedians and singers : it may even be affirmed that they would afford pleasure on the theatre of the opera at Paris. Every part is employed when these girls dance ; their heads, their eyes, their arms, their feet, and all their body seem to move only to enchant and surprise. They are very light, and very strong in the legs ; turning round on one foot, and springing up immediately after with a surprising force. They have so much accuracy in their movements, that they accompany the instruments with bells that are on their feet ; and as they are of the most elegant figures, all their motions are graceful. No Bayadere of the prince's company is more than seventeen years old. At this age they are dismissed ; and either travel over the province, or attach themselves to the Pagods *.

* Every Pagod maintains a number of Bayaderes, whose charms produce one of the most certain revenues of the Bramins.

The

The directress of this company is paid by the prince; but her emoluments are not known. She has always a number of pieces ready in rehearsal to be played at a moment's notice. Tho' there is every reason to think she is well paid by Ayder for the pleasures she procures him, the emoluments she receives from private individuals of fortune, are still more advantageous to her. When a great man gives a set supper, he has usually a comedy ornamented with songs and dances. The directress of the prince's company is paid one hundred rupees for every actress that plays, sings, or dances. The number of these actresses is often more than twenty, the instrumental music not being charged.

If a supper is given to a few private friends, the singers and dancers are likewise employed at the same price of one hundred rupees. Besides which, they must be furnished with supper, and abundance of fruits, sweetmeats, and warm milk. If the friends are retained to sleep (as is often done, where their suppers are more friendly than ceremonious) they chuse each a companion for the night among the performers, for which the directress is likewise paid one hundred rupees each; and the master
of

of the house must present his friend with some trinket, or piece of stuff, to be given to the damsel when she is sent away in the morning.

Besides the prince's company, there are several others in the town where the court is kept, and in the armies. There are even some that are composed of men only : but the people of the court never have recourse to any but the prince's company.

At eleven o'clock, or about midnight, every one retires but those that sup with the Nabob ; who, except on grand festivals, are always his friends and relations.

This mode of life pursued by Ayder, is, as may be easily imagined, interrupted in the army. It is likewise occasionally interrupted by hunting parties, by excursions on foot or horseback, or by his attending to assist at the exercises and evolutions made by considerable bodies of his troops.

When he is obliged to remain a month in camp, or in any town, he usually goes to the chace twice a week. He hunts the stag, the roebuck, the antelope, and sometimes the tyger. When notice arrives that this last animal has been observed to quit the forests, and appear in the plain, he mounts his horse, followed

lowed by all his Abyssinians, his spear-men on foot, and almost all the nobility armed with spears and bucklers. The traces of the beast being found, the hunters surround his hiding place, and contract the circle by degrees. As soon as the creature, who is usually hid in some rice ground, perceives his enemies, he roars, and looks every where to find a place of escape ; and when he prepares to spring on some one to force a passage, he is attacked by Ayder himself, to whom the honour of giving the first stroke is yielded, and in which he seldom fails. Thus the pleasures of the sovereign are varied to infinity.

T H E
T I T L E S
A S S U M E D B Y
A Y D E R A L I K H A N;
W I T H T H E I R
E X P L I C A T I O N.

AYDER ALI KHAN, Nabob Bahader *, Nahondas †, Suba of Scirra, King of the Canarins and Corgues, Day-
va

* Nabob Bahader signifies Incomparable Knight; the Bahaders in India being what the knights were in Europe. A great sovereign or general among the Mogols, after a battle, gives the dignity of Bahader to a man of distinction, one of the principal officers who has behaved with honour. If there has formerly existed any ceremony for the creation of a Bahader, it is now out of use: all that is done at present is, that the general publicly praises his actions, and in his discourse always calls him Bahader; which title is afterwards
given

va * of Mayffour, Sovereign of the Empires of Cherequi and Calicut †, which contain the kingdoms

given him by all the world indiscriminately. A Bahader has great privileges : he may go every where completely armed, causing a gilt mace to be carried before him, and may appear thus even in the presence of any sovereign. When a Bahader arrives at court, he demands an audience, which is always granted : he presents himself with a helmet on, and armed in every other respect : the sovereign seeing him enter, rises and salutes him, by embracing twice ; and in conversation uses the terms *Amaré-Bay*, which signify *my brother* ; because all the sovereigns dignify themselves with the title of Bahader. Ayder was surnamed the Incomparable Bahader ; the true signification of the word *Nabob* being *incomparable* ; for it is a title of honour, not of dignity : however, by common custom, Nabob of Benguelour is used instead of Lord or Prince of Benguelour ; but literally it only signifies incomparable, or without equal, in Benguelour. This title being exclusive, it must in no case be given to an inferior in presence of his superior. Ayder, to shew that the title of Bahader, which we have rendered Knight, but which literally implies Great Warrior, is above all other titles, signs, instead of his name, the two letters B. B. for Bahader Bahader.

† Nahondas implies one who is worthy of all the titles of honour.

* Dayva, or regent. It will be hereafter seen how Ayder became regent of this kingdom.

† Sovereign of the empires of Cherequi and Calicut. The Portuguese were the first Europeans who, arriving with

kingdoms of Cananor, Cochin, Trevancour ; Nabob of Benguelour, Ballapour, Bassapatnam, or Bisnagar, &c. &c. Lord of the Mountains and Vallies, &c. &c. *, King of the Islands of the Sea, &c. &c. †.

with their ships on the coast of Malabar, gave the title of Emperors to the sovereigns of these two countries. The name answers very ill to the power and extent of the states of Cherequi and Samorin. The only resemblance they have to emperors is, that they are the chiefs or heads of two confederations of petty princes, or *Rajas*, to whom the Portuguese gave the title of Kings, because they have a diadem and purple mantle, having the head wrapped in red muslin, and a stripe of gold fastened to the back of their head ; and wearing no other clothes than a kind of shirt of red gauze or muslin, reaching almost to their knees. These pretended kings seldom possess a territory of more than two, or six leagues at the extreme. They go on foot with their legs naked, followed by their courtiers bare-foot, and armed with sabres and bucklers.

* Ayder is Lord of Malleaur or Carnate ; which two words, in different languages, imply, The Country of Mountains and Vallies.

† We shall hereafter shew how this title of King of the Isles of the Sea was given, when his fleet made the conquest of the Maldives, which are said to be twelve thousand in number.

THE
HISTORY
OF
AYDER ALI KHAN;
OR,
NEW MEMOIRS
CONCERNING
THE EAST INDIES.

AYDER Ali Khan, son of Nadim
Sach, general of ten thousand horse *
in the army of the empire, was born
in 1728 at Divanelli, a small fortress or castle
between

* General of ten thousand horse is nearly the same
as lieutenant-general in France. In the army of the
Mogols, all the degrees are conferred by patents, that
give power and commission to raise ten thousand men

between Colar and Oscota, in the country of Benguelour. This land was given in fief to his father, who was particularly attached to Nizam El Moulouc, Grand Visir and Suba of Decan.

After the death of Nizam El Moulouc, Nadim Saeb retired to Divanelli with his two sons, Ismael Saeb, and Ayder. Ismael Saeb was much older than his brother. He entered into the service of the king of Mayssour ; and in a short time became his first general. The king of Mayssour, as a reward for a victory he had obtained over the Marattas, gave him the country and fortress of Benguelour ; which put him into a situation of having a body of troops of his own, that composed part of the

for the service of the empire ; with the prerogative to name all the inferior officers, to keep them in discipline, and to distribute justice among them. As the cavalry is the most esteemed service, the degree of general of ten thousand horse is the highest. This general has the right to cause any number of banners or streamers to be carried before him, and to cause a large square standard to be hoisted before his tent, which is, at the same time, a mark of his jurisdiction. A general, or commander in chief, causes two to be hoisted. When the grand army of a Subaship is assembled, a large triangular standard is displayed at the head of the camp.

army of the king of Mayssour, when Nazerzing made a descent upon the coast of Coromandel in 1750. Ayder, then about twenty-one or twenty-two years old, had never quitted his father's house. His father gave him the command of the quota of troops he was bound to furnish to the army of the Suba, for his lordship of Divanelli. It consisted only of fifty horsemen, and two hundred Peadars, or foldiers armed with matchlocks. Ibrahim Saeb, the maternal uncle of Ayder, served him instead of a Mentor.

Ayder being at the battle where Nazerzing was slain, the bravery of the French, who, to the number of eight hundred, seconded by four thousand Seapoys, had the courage to attack the army of the Mogols, then more than three hundred thousand strong, made such an impression on his mind, that he was persuaded the French were capable of undertaking the most difficult enterprizes. Having followed Mouzaferzing, successor to Nazerzing, to Pondicherry, the observations he made in that city, upon the manners, discipline, fortifications, buildings, arts, and industry of the French, gave him the highest esteem for that celebrated and warlike nation, and more

especially for M. Dupleix, who was then governor.

In 1751, Mouzaferzing having withdrawn his army to Golconda, Ayder, whose father was dead, went to join his brother in Mayssour. On the account the young man gave of the advantageous arms of the Europeans, and their address in managing great guns, Ismael Saeb dispatched a Guebre to Bombay, to purchase cannon, and musquets with bayonets.— This Persian, who died in 1767, purchased two thousand musquets, and six pieces of cannon, of the governor of Bombay. He likewise enrolled thirty European sailors, of different nations, that he collected on the coast of Malabar, to serve as canoniers.

Ismael Saeb, brother to Ayder, was thus the first Indian who formed a corps of Seapoys armed with firelocks and bayonets, and who had a train of artillery served by Europeans. This procured him new advantages over the enemies of the king of Mayssour, and increased the esteem and friendship of that prince for him.

Nand Raja, brother to the king of Mayssour, and Dayva*, having formed an army
to

* Nand Raja was Dayva, which signifies regent, as
Ayder

to make a descent upon the coast of Coromandel, and join that of the English, Ayder, at the recommendation of his brother, obtained the command of the cavalry of this army. The English, aided by the Mayssourians, forced the French troops, combined with those of Chanda Saeb, to surrender themselves prisoners of war, and to give up the Pagod of Schir-nigam, in which they had taken refuge. It was on this occasion that Chanda Saeb was made prisoner. Nand Raja afterwards quarrelling with the English, M. Dupleix formed an alliance with him; and it was agreed to lay siege to Trichnapoli, a strong place on the river Caveri, with an army composed of French forces, together with those of Mayssour, and those of Chanda Saeb *, Nabob of Arcot. The English, who were the allies of Mchemet Ali Khan †, competitor of Chanda Saeb, had then a garrison in Trichnapoli.

When the French set out from Pondicherry, in 1752, to join Nand Raja, they were har-

Ayder is at present. It will hereafter be seen how this prince lost the regency.

* Chanda Saeb, as has been shewn in the Introduction, was the Nabob acknowledged by the French.

† See the Introduction.

raffed in their march by a body of Mahratta cavalry, commanded by a chief allied with the English. On this occasion the commandant of the French troops wrote to the regent of Mayffour to fend him a reinforcement.

Ayder was sent to his affiftance, at the head of eighteen hundred horfe. It was then that Ayder began to be known to the French, and to acquire fome reputation among the Europeans, whence he had his pretended name of Anderneç. Before that time, the French, the English, and other European nations, had very little connection with, or knowledge of, the interior parts of the country; and there was not perhaps two Frenchmen at Pondicherry that could converse in the language of the Mogols, which is a kind of Persian, and is commonly called Moors. The officers and foldiers had no other interpreters than their Dabashis, or Malabar domestics, who knew only their own language and a sort of corrupt Portuguese. The Malabar language, though very regular, is perhaps the poorest language in being: so that the word *Dore* signifies Mr. or Sir; and to express the word governor, general, or *the superior Sir*, they say *Peri-dore*, which is *the great Sir*, or *Master*: and, in the

the same manner, to denote any chief whatsoever, the Malabar language has only the word *Naic*; and they use *Tanjaor Naic* to signify the king or Raja of Tanjaor; and *Narim Naic*, and *Chabri Naic*, to denote the serjeant Narim, or the corporal Chabri: and the name *Ayder Naic* implying the chief Ayder, the French have formed it into Andernec. It is this name of Naic that has caused it to be imagined that Ayder had been a corporal of Seapoys. He was then called Ayder Saeb, which is the same as Mr. Ayder. His name was enlarged in proportion as his power increased, as the custom is among the Mogols; and he is now called Ayder Ali Khan.

When the French army had joined that of Mayssour, Ayder *, whose camp then formed the left wing of the Mayssourian army, came and encamped himself to the right of the French, in spite of all the arguments of the French commandant, and the regent of Mayssour; and, however disagreeable it was to the

* M. de Maissin, who commanded the French at that time, is the author of this anecdote, which sufficiently confutes the several stories that have been circulated respecting Ayder's intentions.

French to see themselves as it were cooped up, he would not remove from the station he had assumed. He informed the commandant that he wished to be near the French, that he might learn from them the art of war. In fact, he was very attentive and exact in observing every thing that passed in the French camp; and caused several of their evolutions * to be repeated, as well as was in his power, in his own camp.—This repetition caused some diversion to the French officers and soldiers, whom he was attentive to please by his politeness and good manners. But it was not with any satisfaction they observed that Ayder had drawn the most active and intelligent French soldiers into his service. He had still in his service, in 1770, the *Sieur Stenet* †, son of a *Cent-Suisse* of Versailles, who was a volunteer at the siege of Trichnapoli in 1753: he took him at that time into his service, and sent him to his brother in Mayssour, as he did every other Frenchman that chose to engage in his service. These enrollments were made

* Ayder, though general of cavalry in the army of Mayssour, had troops of his own.—The left is the post of honour in India.

† He was then captain in the artillery.

with some dexterity ; and, as there was need of his services, the French commandant winked at the irregularity of the proceeding.

General Lawrence, who was then only major, attempting to throw some succours and a convoy into Trichnapoli, received a considerable check ; of which, in his Memoirs, he gives all the honour to Ayder and his cavalry. English jealousy perhaps induced him to diminish the merit of the French ; but it is certain that Ayder distinguished himself highly on this occasion.

In 1755, Nand Raja * having quitted the French to return to Mayssour, Ayder made a particular treaty with M. Dupleix, by which he engaged to remain with his troops, forming a body of six thousand men, till the capture of Trichnapoli ; and he did not return to Mayssour till Mr. Godehen, successor to M. Dupleix, had made a truce with the English, and given orders to raise the siege of Trichnapoli. In 1756, Ayder being informed

* The cause of the retreat of Nand Raja with the army of Mayssour, was, that M. de Buffi, with a body of French, had accompanied Salaberzing, Suba of Decan, when he came to Syringpatnam, capital of Mayssour, and exacted contributions.

of the death of his brother, as he was on his way to rejoin him, hastened to receive the succession that had devolved to him by the law ; his brother having no male children. This death put him in possession of a handsome fortress, a fertile territory, and a body of troops, which, joined to his own, amounted to above fifteen thousand men, including two hundred Europeans, and three thousand of excellent cavalry. The king of Mayssour having the same confidence in him as his brother Ismael, appointed him generalissimo of his army.

The kings of Mayssour being Bramins, had united the royal dignity and the priesthood ; and, to be more venerable in the eyes of their people, they affected to appear in public only twice a year ; namely, on those days when they presided at the solemn ceremonies of their religion. And in order to appear solely occupied with the sacred mysteries, which they celebrated with pomp and magnificence, they abandoned the government to a Dayva, or regent, who, till the time of Nand Raja, had always been one of the king's nearest relations. But a Bramin, named Canero, favourite of this prince, persuaded him to assume the government

government himself, and forsake his brother Nand Raja. This last, who had neither the capacity nor the application, nor even the firmness, necessary to support himself in this dignity, made no resistance; and preferred banishment to the frontier to the hazard of making the least remonstrance.

Canero having taken entire possession of the mind of the king, was declared his minister, and charged with the administration of affairs. Ayder kept his command of the army.

The power, the reputation, and the love of the soldiery that were possessed by Ayder, ought to have secured him from the envy and jealousy of this ambitious minister: but Canero, sacrificing every thing to those passions, ventured even to make a private treaty with the Marattas, enemies of the state. In consequence of this treaty, the Maratta army entered Mayssour in the rainy season, at the moment when Ayder least expected them, and, deceived by Canero, had dispersed his troops.

The approach of the Marattas, and their superiority in number, obliged him to advance towards Syringpatnam, capital of the kingdom, that offered him a sure asylum in the island on which the city is situated, and which
cannot

cannot be entered, when the Caveri is swelled by the rains, but by the bridge of Syringpatnam.

Canero, who, in another situation, would have done his utmost to have prevented Ayder from entering the royal city, pressed him to pitch his camp on the island. Ayder fell into the snare of the perfidious Bramin. He passed the bridge and went through the town with his army, which he encamped at the opposite extremity of the island. The Maratta army soon appeared, and invested that part of the river, where it is fordable in the usual state of the waters.

Ayder, having no suspicion of the treachery of Canero, depended on the well-furnished magazines of the city for the subsistence of his troops. But he was in the highest astonishment, the day after the arrival of the Marattas, when he beheld the gates of the city shut ; and was informed that Canero had determined that the whole army should perish, either by hunger or the cannon of the city, unless they delivered up Ayder to the king, who had strong reasons for securing his person. This account convinced Ayder that Canero had sworn his destruction. He sent several officers to treat with

with him ; but the day was consumed without effect. When the night was closed in, he sent for the chiefs of the different corps into his tent. He thanked them for their fidelity to him, and assured them that he would not be the cause of the loss of so many brave men. He advised them to arrange their affairs, at the break of day, as well as they could, with Canero ; and informed them that he should determine for himself in the course of that very night. At the same time he gave six months pay and gratification to the whole army, which was distributed to the soldiers before any treaty was made with Canero. He then embraced the principal officers, telling them that he depended on their friendship when a favourable opportunity might arrive ; and afterwards dismissed them. About midnight, assembling thirty of his men on whose fidelity and bravery he could rely, he committed a quantity of gold to the charge of each ; and, putting himself at their head, attempted to pass the river by swimming. He succeeded ; and happily eluding the Maratta army, kept a direct course, without stopping, till he arrived at Benguelour, which is thirty leagues distant from Syringpatnam.

When he came near this fortress, he sent one of his friends to his uncle Ibrahim Saeb, to whom he had entrusted the government, to inform him, that though he had formerly possessed lands, fortresses, treasures, and an army, he had now no more remaining than thirty friends, who were determined to share his fortune ; that he therefore begged him to say, with sincerity, whether he could still rely on his friendship ; and that his answer would determine whether he should come to Benguelour, or seek an asylum elsewhere. His uncle having received this message, mounted his horse, and returned with the messenger of Ayder. “ Courage !” said he, on meeting his nephew, “ nothing is lost that you have trusted in my hands ; and God will assist you to recover the rest.” Ayder embraced him, and they entered Benguelour.

Seeing himself thus in possession of a strong place, he began to hope for the re-establishment of his affairs ; and his wishes were soon partly realized, by the unforeseen arrival of almost all his cavalry, which the brave Moc-tum Saeb, his brother-in-law, brought after him.

At the time that Canero was in treaty with the chiefs of Ayder’s army, Moc-tum seizing
the

the instant of a sudden and unexpected decrease of the Caveri, crossed the river at the head of three thousand horse ; and overthrowing every force the Marattas brought to oppose him, he opened a passage, and arrived at Benguelour by favour of the woods and mountains he was perfectly acquainted with, having lost a very inconsiderable number of men.

Ayder made use of every resource. He raised troops with the utmost celerity ; and being necessarily on the defensive, he began a war of stratagem with the Marattas, seconded by his brother-in-law, and assisted by the nature of the country.

In the year 1760, at the time he was busied in defending his own proper home, Pondicherry being in great danger, he detached seven thousand men, at the request of Mr. Lally, to assist the French, under the command of his brother-in-law Moctum.

Moctum, in his way to Pondicherry, placed a garrison in the fortrefs of Thiagar, which the Sieur Mariol put into his hands, by order of Mr. Lally ; and the garrison of that place, consisting of three hundred French and twelve hundred seapoys, having joined the army of Ayder, Moctum, after repelling a party of the English,

lish, who pretended to dispute the passage of a river, encamped on the glacis of Pondicherry, where he remained two months ; and threw several convoys into the place, without being able to prevail on M. Lally to encamp without the town. He returned to Ayder, bringing with him all the French cavalry under the Sieurs Alain and Hughel, and such workmen as were at Pondicherry : a precious acquisition, which has highly contributed to the success of Ayder, by furnishing him with skilful armourers, carpenters, and other workmen from the arsenal of Pondicherry, collected with much expence and trouble by the French. Moctum, in his return, passing by Thiagar, withdrew his garrison ; and the French replaced some seapoys in the same : Moctum saying, with a generous spirit of integrity, that as the place was to have been the reward for delivering Pondicherry, justice required him to restore it, since he had failed in the attempt.

This action, however, may perhaps have been more political than generous. But the fact is, that Thiagar was not surrendered to the English till after the capture of Pondicherry.

During

During the absence of Moctum, Ayder made a truce with the Marattas, a nation very averse to long wars. This Nabob, esteeming the French in the highest degree, saw with great satisfaction a fine corps of cavalry of that nation in his army ; and he was still more rejoiced to behold them accompanied by a body of workmen, for want of whose assistance he was in no small distress. His brother-in-law, who had conciliated the affection of all who knew him, was doubtless entitled to the most honourable reception. Ayder, on the contrary, received him with coolness, and even with indignation ; making it a crime that he had not accomplished the object of his mission, by raising the siege of Pondicherry ; and, without waiting for his reply, he degraded him to the rank of simple cavalier, as being unworthy of any command. This treatment, which astonished all the world, was highly mortifying to the officers and soldiers who had borne a part in the expedition. Many of them, particularly the French, spoke to Ayder in favour of his brother-in-law ; but he appearing always in anger, but at the same time willing to do justice, consented to assemble all the chiefs of his army, and allowed the friends

of Moctum to give a detail of his conduct during the expedition to Pondicherry. The whole assembly unanimously extolling the merit of Moctum, Ayder ordered his grand *savari* * to be immediately prepared ; and being on his march to the house of his brother-in-law, followed by the whole assembly, he met him in the † bazar, where he was walking on foot like a common soldier. As soon as Ayder saw him, he descended from his elephant, approached Moctum and embraced him cordially several times, and addressed him nearly in these words : “ I find, “ by the account of your friends, that I was “ wrong in blaming your conduct, and was “ going to your house to make an apology “ for my error. I am happy that I have met “ you, that the satisfaction I make may be “ the more public.” Then causing him to mount the king’s own elephant, he conducted

* *Savari* is a word that signifies the grand retinue of the sovereign on occasions of ceremony. It will be described in a future part of this work.

† The bazar is that part of a city or camp where the shops of the merchants are situate. The streets of the bazar being usually covered, it is common to walk there.

him

him to his own house, riding before him on horseback, with all his attendants in procession, and followed by the people and soldiery ; who, happy at the reconciliation of Ayder with Moctum, sang his praises, in which his brother-in-law was not forgotten.

The conduct of Ayder in this transaction was founded in justice ; but, according to all appearance, it was not less the effect of policy. He was then looking forward at a great fortune, and was desirous of convincing his officers, that, as he had not spared his brother-in-law, who was his dearest friend, he should not fail in punishing any neglect of duty in them.

Ayder lost no time in turning the arrival of the French to his advantage. He spread the news by his emissaries, magnifying their number ; and, avowing his intention to march to Syringpatnam, he invited all the great men of Mayssour to join him for the purpose of delivering the king from the power of the treacherous Canero, and to restore the government in conformity to the laws of the kingdom. Nand Raja, who had always held a secret correspondence with Ayder, quitted his exile and joined him ; and it is said, that

he furnished him with large sums of money to raise troops and increase his army.

Canero, knowing the activity of Ayder, was not remiss in his preparations. He collected an army vastly more numerous than that of Ayder; and, by virtue of caresses and rewards, gained to his party those Europeans who had managed the artillery of Ayder before his flight. His artillery was, besides, far superior in number and quality, so that he did not fear to go out of the town, and waited for Ayder at Cenapatnam, an open village seven leagues distant from Syringpatnam.

The two armies were encamped at the distance of three leagues asunder. The dependence of Ayder on his own troops, and hopes he had been encouraged to form from his French succours, did not prevent his employing stratagem against his enemy. Success attended his attempts.

There was a lady at Syringpatnam, commonly called the old Dayva, because her husband, brother of the king and of Nand Raja, had been regent or Dayva of the kingdom.

This lady had possessed great power during the regency of her husband, who left her extremely

tremely rich. Nand Raja, her brother-in-law, on his accession to the regency, had not that respect and consideration she thought were due to her : from that moment she declared herself his enemy, and contributed much to his loss of the regency. This princess had always protected Ayder and his brother ; and, as her conduct was not very exemplary, the scandalous chronicle affirmed, that Ayder and his brother shared her private favours. Though distant from Syringpatnam, Ayder had always kept up an intimate correspondence with this lady, who was not a friend to Canero, though apparently, from policy, much attached to him. On the assurance that Ayder gave her, that Nand Raja should never be regent, she promised to serve him to the utmost of her power, and even supplied him with large sums of money.

Ayder, to make every advantage of the friendship of this lady, on whom he had an entire reliance, transmitted to her fictitious letters, addressed to the principal heads of the army of Canero, in which he appeared to prescribe, in consequence of an agreement long established, operations to be made by them upon certain signals appointed by Ayder. The intention of these

manceuvres was apparently that of furrounding Canero at the commencement of the battle, and preventing his escape. 'The lady having received these letters, repaired to the camp of Canero the night preceding the battle: she gave him the letters; and, by an artful conversation on the business, increased the consternation of the minister: the consequence was, that he immediately retired to Syringpatnam, leaving the command of the army to an old general named Pirkhan, whom he believed to be in his interests, but who was really the friend of Ayder.

Ayder, informed of every thing as it happened, marched with his army at the break of day to approach that of Canero, thrown into great agitation by his departure. The news of this precipitate march augmented the confusion, and the general was by no means desirous of removing it. A number of deserters from Canero's army arrived in the camp of Ayder, with the news of his flight. As soon as that Nabob heard their report, he caused his army to halt, and sent a messenger to the general of the other army to propose a conference, publicly assuring him, that his exertions were directed against the traitor Canero, and not the king and kingdom of Mayssour. Pirkhan,
after

after taking the advice of the principal chiefs of his army, consented to a conference with Ayder and Nand Raja, in the presence of the two armies ; when it was resolved, to the great satisfaction of the foldiers, that they should unite, and form but one army ; and that a deputation should be sent immediately to the king of Mayssour, praying him to drive the traitor Canero out of the kingdom, as a declared enemy of the king and the state. When the two armies were united, Ayder, to the surprise of every one, commanded before him the Europeans who had formerly been attached to his service and that of his brother : he made them ground their arms, and, giving every one a stroke, after the manner of the Indians, when they dishonour or degrade any one, he drove them out of his camp. He was induced to this severity, as he said, because these foldiers, having been loaded with favours by his brother and himself, were the only men of all his troops who had presumed to carry arms against him. The French cavalry from Pondicherry were present at this execution, and pretended to approve it.

The deputation from the army being arrived at Syringpatnam, the answer of the king,

dictated, no doubt, by Canero, was, that they were traitors, and that the king would punish them. On this answer, it was resolved to lay siege to Syringpatnam; which was immediately done, to prevent Canero from calling in the assistance of the Marattas.

The inhabitants of the city had no sooner heard the report of a few cannon, than they assembled, and remonstrated in strong terms against Canero, excited, most probably, by the dowager Dayva; who at length prevailed on the king to deliver Canero to the army, and to declare Ayder regent instead of Nand Raja, who expected the appointment, and supposed Ayder would be contented with the post of generalissimo.

Upon his accepting the regency, Ayder made every submission to appease Nand Raja. He gave him a considerable territory, and made a promise, both in writing and by oath, that he would never make any attempt on his liberty, property, or life, but would always regard him as his father.

Ayder afterwards caused the Bramin doctors to be assembled to judge Canero. He was condemned to death for having invited a foreign enemy into the kingdom, and levying war

war against the king's most faithful subjects. By virtue of his power as regent, Ayder spared his life, and commuted his punishment into that of being shut up in an iron cage in the middle of the most public place of Benguelour; where it is still to be seen, with the bones of this unhappy favourite, who lived two years in the cage, exposed to the insults of a populace that adored Ayder.

As a beginning of his performance of the duty of a regent, Ayder caused an exact account to be made out of the royal revenues, together with the treasure and jewels. He found that the greatest part of the jewels, instead of being in the treasury, were in pawn with the court banker *, who had advanced money
when

* In every great city of Indostan, especially those where courts are kept, there are rich bankers, named Sarcars. They are all Guzerats, or natives of that country. Their integrity or credit, as well as their skill in business, is much esteemed. Their business is properly that of bankers, borrowing or lending money, furnishing or taking letters of exchange on all places, not excepting even those at which they have no correspondence. In this last case, they make use of money porters, who carry money to any distance, charging their carriage at per league. These men may be depended on; and it is related, that one of them hav-
ing

when Salabetzing, Suba of Decan, accompanied by M. Buffi, came as far as the gates of Syringpatnam, and forced the king of Mayssour to pay contributions.

Ayder being informed that this man had acquired the whole of his immense fortune in the service of the state, was displeased that he had demanded pledges on lending money to the government. He ordered the jewels to be

ing carried off a considerable sum belonging to a banker at Madras, the rest of the people following the same occupation assembled, and reimbursed the banker, tho' under no obligation to do it; and two of them immediately repaired to Goa, where the thief had taken refuge, and, cutting off his head, brought it to Madras, where it was carried to all the bankers to be seen, in order that the punishment of the crime might ensure a continuation of their confidence. Letters of exchange are far more ancient in India than in Europe; but are not drawn to order, which creates a difficulty in case of the death or absence of the person in whose favour they are drawn. This difficulty is in some measure obviated by naming several persons in the same bill: so that the letter of exchange drawn by an Indian banker runs, "Pay to John, or in his absence to Peter, or in his absence to James, &c."

Besides dealing in money, these bankers traffic likewise in precious stones, coral, pearls, and gold and silver plate. Some of them are very rich; and there are insurance companies of great credit at Surat, at Madras, and at Calcutta, entirely composed of Guzerat bankers.

taken

taken out of his hands, and his due paid him ; but at the same time nominated a commission to inspect his accounts. The commissioners having found him guilty of fraud and extortion in his dealings with the state, condemned him to perpetual imprisonment and confiscation of all his property. The luxury of this banker was enormous. It is said that his children had cradles of gold suspended from the ceiling by chains of the same metal. Ayder caused the judgment to be put in execution, but gave him a pension to subsist on ; and placed his sons in the service, where they have been preferred.

Order and regularity were soon established in the finances, and Ayder then proceeded to compel a number of petty tyrants, known by the name of *Palleagars* *, to evacuate their fortresses. He was under the necessity of using force with some of them, but the greater part treated with him in a friendly manner. He compelled likewise many *Rajas*, vassals and tributaries to the kingdom of *Mayssour*, to

* The *Palleagars* are people who inhabit castles or small fortresses. There are many in India, but there does not exist one in all the dominions of Ayder. This name is given only to *Gentoos*, and is not properly applied to *Mogels*.

acknowledge their dependence, and pay the tribute with punctuality and exactness. He likewise obliged many neighbouring kings, such as the kings of Canara, the Marattas, and the Patane Nabobs of Canour, Carpet, and Sanour, to restore the lands they had usurped from the kingdom of Mayssour. But he did not accomplish all this without declaring war, and obtaining many victories over them. The Patanes were dreaded through all Indostan, for their valour and their perfidy. Ayder acquired great reputation by the signal victory he gained over the three Nabobs, near Sanour; for which he was indebted to the bravery and spirited evolutions of the French cavalry under M. Hughel.

This victory of Sanour induced Bazaletzing, king of Adonis, and brother of Nizam Ali Khan, Suba of Decan, to send an embassy to him.

Those princes were at war with the Marattas, who had lately received a considerable check on the banks of the Kifna, in a battle they had lost against the united armies of the Grand Visir * of the empire, and of Abdalla, king

* This Grand Visir was Sha Abadin Khan, or otherwise

king of the Patanes †, in which sixty thousand Marattas were left on the spot.

Bazaletzing had laid siege to Scirra, a strong place situated between his dominions and the kingdom of Mayssour, and gives the title to a Subaship; of which the whole district has been either seized by the Marattas, or united to the Subaship of Decan. This prince imagined, that taking advantage of the defeat of the Marattas, he should easily get possession of Scirra, and,

otherwise named Suja Dowla, who succeeded his grandfather Nizam El Moulouc, and his father Grouzedy Khan.—He is, besides, sovereign of an extensive territory on the Ganges.

† This Abdallah is king of Candahar. When he had joined his army to that of Suja Dowla, they drove the Marattas from Delhi as far as Kifna, where the fugitives crossed the river, and waited to defend the passage. The Patanes and the Mogols several times attempted to cross the river, but could not succeed, many Patanes being taken prisoners in the attempt. Raguba, general of the Marattas, caused them to be brought before him, and proposed to them to join the Marattas. They replied, that Mahometans were not made to serve, but to command other men. Raguba demanded, if they were stronger or more courageous than other men? To which they replied, Give us arms, and you shall see. As they were very few in number, Raguba caused arms to be given them; and they instantly fell upon the Marattas, who were obliged

and, by that means, become of equal rank with his brother, by acquiring the title of Suba. But, his army not being equal to the undertaking, he experienced a resistance that would have reduced him to the shameful necessity of raising the siege, if he had not been advised to form an alliance with Ayder ; who was enchanted to find himself sought after by a prince of so elevated a rank. He did not, however, consent to join his army till he had previously made an advantageous treaty. In

ged to put them all to the sword. Abdalla and Suja Dowla, finding too much difficulty in forcing a passage over the Kishna, made use of stratagem. They pretended to quarrel, and Abdalla departed, as if intending to return to his own dominions. Raguba, being advised of this, passed the Kishna to attack Suja Dowla, who pretended to avoid him ; but, sending intelligence to Abdalla, the two allies joined, and faced their enemy. The Marattas were attacked, and gave way ; and, being vigorously followed, they lost sixty thousand men, for want of time to repass the Kishna. Raguba was general only for the minority of Madurao, his nephew, whom he caused to be assassinated. The Marattas did not suffer him to retain the regency during the minority of the son of Madurao, but expelled him. He took refuge among the English at Bombay, who espoused his cause. This is precisely the event that occasioned the war between the Marattas and that European nation.

this treaty it was agreed, that Ayder should appear before Scirra with his army, and a numerous artillery ; that Bazaletzing and himself should carry on the siege conjointly, till the place was taken ; that as soon as it should surrender, each army should take possession on its respective side of attack ; that all the artillery, ammunition, and in general every thing that could be carried away, should be the share of Bazaletzing, who should either take it in kind, or receive the value from Ayder ; and, that this last should take possession of the place.

Ayder being arrived before the place with a well-disciplined army, and a grand train of artillery served by Europeans, made his attack in a manner very different from that made use of by Bazaletzing. By successful undermining, he blew up two bastions and the curtain, which forced the besieged to surrender at discretion, and increased the terror his arms had spread over the extensive empire of India.

In the execution of the treaty between these two princes, Bazaletzing, who was always afterwards called the Merchant by Ayder, preferred the receiving money for his share of the capture ; and besides, engaged to solicit his

brothers, the Grand Visir, and the Suba of Decan, to cause Ayder to be acknowledged Suba of Scirra, which immediately took effect, the Grand Visir * sending him an embassy with the Paravana which declared him Suba of Scirra, with all the honours annexed to the title, as the round palanquin †, the fishes head, &c. It was thus that Ayder, born a private person, found himself raised to the rank of the greatest princes of India ‡; and, from a subject of the king of Mayssour, he became his superior; the kingdom of Mayssour, which is held of the Mogol emperor,

* The Mogol empire was then in a state of anarchy, the emperor being no more than an ineffectual name. Allumsha, one of the princes of the Mogol blood, had retired to Ilha Hadabad, where he assumed the title of Great Mogol; but Suja Dowla acknowledged another young prince, then an infant. His uncles Nizam Dowla, Suba of Decan, Bazaletzing, king of Adonis, and Ayder by complaisance for Sujah Dowla, acknowledged the same prince, but merely by name, without rendering any obedience or submission to either him or his visir, who was presumed to have the regency.

† These honours are marks of the dignity of Suba, and will be explained in a future page.

‡ The Subas are at present the greatest princes in India, and regard themselves as the representatives of the emperor. They are above the tributary kings of the empire.

having been comprized in his Subaship. At the time of his receiving the title and honours of Suba of Scirra, he engaged to make war on the Marattas ; who had then seen the end of their empire, if the princes, sons of Nizam El Moulouc, had possessed as much courage and intelligence as Ayder ; and if, more especially, the king of the Patanes had not abandoned his allies, and returned into his own country, satisfied with the immense plunder he had obtained.

Ayder, continuing the war with success against the Marattas, took Markfira and Maggheri, strong places in the district of Scirra, as well as the kingdom of Bismagar or Bassapatnam. But the Marattas having collected their forces against him, he, by the pusillanimity of his allies, had nearly lost his life, having received a stroke on the head with a sabre, in a battle in which neither side gained the victory. A few days afterwards he concluded a truce for three years ; and preserved his conquests by paying a sum of money to the general of that nation.

This war was scarcely finished, when a new opportunity presented itself for extending the power and reputation of Ayder. The son

of the queen of Canara had escaped from Rana Biddeluru, capital of that kingdom, and came to the Suba at Bisnagar, to implore his assistance, that his mother might be compelled to put him in possession of the kingdom of his ancestors ; the regency of which she had held since the death of her husband, the late king, and father of the young prince, and still retained it, though her son had arrived at the age prescribed by law for him to take charge of the government himself.

As the kingdom of Canara was comprized in the subaship of Scirra, the prince could carry his complaint with propriety to no other tribunal than that of Ayder. The young prince was therefore favourably received, and his mother was cited, by an ambaffador of Ayder, to appear before the Suba at a time fixed.

This woman, who possessed a degree of courage unusual in her sex, and who, from the anarchy that had long reigned in the Mogol's empire, was habituated to despise the orders of the emperor and his officers, replied to the ambaffador of Ayder, that she was queen, and knew no superior. On this answer, which Ayder expected, war was determined on against the queen ; but the nature of the country promised

promised to throw many difficulties in the way of the expedition.

Rana Biddeluru, capital of the kingdom of Canara, is one of the largest and best peopled cities of India. It contains at least fifty thousand souls ; among whom are about thirty thousand Christians, who have great privileges. This considerable population is, however, by no means proportionate to the extent of the city, whose circuit exceeds three leagues. It will not be found that this is an exaggeration, when it is considered, that there are streets in it, nearly in a right line, of two leagues in length. Besides, the greatest part of the ground on which the town stands is inhabited by great men and nobility, whose houses are each in the midst of a large garden, enclosing vast basins or reservoirs of water, as well for the purposes of pleasure as utility. A prodigious number of trees, planted in these gardens, shade all the streets ; which are watered on each side by a rivulet of clear and limpid water, and have no other pavement than a fine gravel.

This beautiful city is situated near a small mountain, at whose summit is a considerable fortress, since much more strongly fortified

by Ayder. The mountain is in a plain about five or six leagues in diameter, environed by mountains and forests that extend for more than twenty leagues every way, and are not to be passed but by narrow passages, defended by forts at a small distance from each other. These circumstances render the access to the city extremely difficult for an army, that may be checked at every step by an inconsiderable force, and cannot encamp but in the length of a stony passage, where it is liable to be attacked by the people of the country, who know all the secret passages, and can continually lay in ambush to annoy their enemy. The woods cannot be cut down, much less burned*, without infinite labour; and they are filled with tigers, bears, elephants, and every species of venomous reptiles.

A mass of such almost insuperable obstacles as presented themselves to Ayder, ought to have deterred him from his enterprize, if he had not been accompanied by the young prince, who was beloved by the people and the men in power; while the queen his mother

* In these forests are a prodigious number of bamboos, a tree that cannot be burned without first cutting it down and drying it.

was detested by them, as well for her haughtiness and pride, as for having contracted a second marriage with a Bramin, contrary to the law of the place, which prohibits the widows of their kings from marrying a second time.

Ayder, determined to make the attempt, left Bisnagar, carrying with him the prince of Canara, at the head of 6,000 men of his best cavalry, and some Caleros, men habituated to traverse the mountains and forests. He was followed by a number of oxen * loaded with rice; and with no other baggage, he advanced, by forced marches, towards the capital of Canara. His movement was so rapid, that he passed on without finding any obstacle, and

* Oxen are of the greatest utility in India, both for draught and carriage. This species, which is but little varied in Europe, is very much so in India, much more than any other species of animals. There are some extremely tall, some middle sized, and some small. They work at the plough, draw all sorts of carriages, and go very fast. Some have their horns strait, others curved, and others have none at all. The greater number have a bunch on the back; and generally it is an animal of the greatest utility, which is still more enhanced by the consideration, that after doing much service, its flesh is eatable, and its skin tanned for leather.

arrived on the plain of Biddeluru before the queen had received any news of his march. His cavalry, accustomed to every kind of ground, terrified the Canarins, who had never beheld a legion of that kind. The good discipline observed by his troops, and the sight of the legitimate prince, caused Ayder to be received every where as a tutelar divinity.

On his appearance in the plain, his cavalry easily dispersed a part of the queen's army, that attempted to oppose his passage; and that princess, who had scarcely time to make her escape, was pursued, taken, and conducted into the presence of the conqueror.

Ayder used his victory with the greatest moderation. He received the queen in the most gracious manner, and reconciled her with her son; who granted her a considerable pension, allowing her to live with her husband. To satisfy the people, who ardently desired it, the young prince was proclaimed king: he made homage to the empire for his kingdom, and signed the treaty, as well as his mother, and the principal great men of the country.

While these transactions were performing in the kingdom of Canara, the army of Ayder advanced into the country, and his infantry
took

took possession, without resistance, of all the posts that were necessary to secure his return, and the success of any thing he might think proper to undertake.

Before he engaged in the war that was to place the prince of Canara on the throne of his ancestors, Ayder made a treaty with him, by which the prince yielded to the Suba the port of Mangalor, with a tract of country to form a communication from thence to the frontiers of the kingdom of Mayssour. In execution of this treaty, Ayder, after causing the new king to be crowned, marched with a party of his troops to take possession of Mangalor, leaving a part of his army encamped at the gates of Rana Biddeluru.

The queen of Canara, enraged to find herself deprived of the sovereignty, had pretended to be reconciled with her son, and to acknowledge him as king, with no other intention than to wait for an opportunity of destroying Ayder. With this hope, and completely to gratify her vengeance, she resolved on the death of this generous Suba. She therefore endeavoured to gain the confidence of her son, whose feeble and pusillanimous spirit she well knew. She reproached him, with a dissembled

G 4. tendernefs,

tendernefs, that, to haften the beginning of his reign, he had inconfiderately delivered up his kingdom to barbarians, the enemies of his religion, who would leave him only the empty name of king, after depriving him of the moft valuable part of his dominions, and moft probably would finifh by entirely robbing him of the whole. At length, by force of infinuations, and under the appearance of a highly difinterested perfon, who had refigned a kingdom to him, ſhe fucceeded in her endeavours to make him regret the treaty with Ayder ; and, continuing to act on his fears of the future intentions of the Suba, ſhe acquired ſuch an empire over his mind, that he was brought to conſent to the affaſſination of Ayder, which ſhe had projected in a manner that, in its own nature, was almoſt certain of ſucceſs.

During his ſtay at Rana Biddeluru, Ayder had dwelt in the palace of the kings of Canara, and was of courſe to reſide there on his return. From this palace to a famous pagoda, there was a ſubterraneous communication, known to very few except the queen. The queen had reſolved to undermine the palace, and to blow up Ayder the night of his return, when he ſhould be at table with his principal
officers,

officers *, hoping, that at the instant of the catastrophe, the people and soldiers of Canara, animated by her son, might easily put the troops of Ayder to the sword in their first confusion and disorder.

This project might have been easily put in practice by means of her husband, the superior of the Bramins who belonged to the pagoda. The day of Ayder's return was come, and the moment approached in which this Suba and his retinue were to perish by treachery ; when the plot first came to the knowledge of a Bramin, chief of a pagoda some leagues distant from the city. Whether he was actuated, as the Bramins affirm, by a detestation and horror for the crime ; or whether his hatred for the queen and her husband, who were united contrary to their law, was his leading motive ; he conveyed himself in secret to Rana Biddeluru, and, presenting himself before Ayder, as if to compliment him on his happy return, he advised him openly, in the presence of the king and queen, of the conspiracy, and the danger he was in. This astonishing recital made the whole

* Ayder, like all the other Indians, makes two meals a day, the first at eight in the morning, the second at midnight.

assembly tremble, but made no impression upon Ayder; who, looking round, discovered the guilty persons without difficulty. He ordered them to be seized. The witnesses were heard, and, the truth being established on the spot, the queen, her husband, and all their accomplices, were put to death, except the king of Canara, who was carried prisoner to Maggheri, near Scirra, and his kingdom was confiscated.

The discovery of this conspiracy was worth a fine kingdom to Ayder, rich in all sorts of productions, and having a valuable extent of sea-coast, with a good number of sea-ports. The immense quantities of rice, pepper, cinnamon, cardamoms, coral, sandal wood, and ivory, that abound in this kingdom, have caused it to be called the granary and warehouse of all India. In the mountains there are mines of gold, diamonds, rubies, and other precious stones; and even in the very fortress of Rana Biddeluru, there is a rich gold mine. When Ayder took possession of the place, he found an immense treasure in gold, coined and in ingots, in trinkets and precious stones, that was indeed stupendous, if credit may be given to the accounts of the French, who accompanied him in that expedition. They say that
the

the prince caused pearls and precious stones to be measured in their fight with a corn measure ; and that, having made two heaps of gold and trinkets, they surpassed the height of a man on horseback. On this happy occasion Ayder gratified all his troops with half a year's pay, not excepting those that were in garrison in different parts of his dominions. He changed the name of Rana Biddeluru into that of Ayder Nagar, or Royal City of Ayder, and the name of Mangalor into that of Corial or Port Royal. He assumed at the same time the title of King of Canara and of the Corgues, a small kingdom situated at the southern extremity of Canara, and separated from that kingdom, as well as from the Malabar district, and the kingdom of Mayssour, by mountains that entirely enclose it. It has long been in subjection to the kings of Canara.

Ayder, after taking possession of the capital, visited the several parts of his new dominions, and was every where acknowledged sovereign with scarce any opposition. But being desirous of re-uniting certain cantons of this kingdom, in possession of the Portuguese, he did not find the viceroy of Goa disposed to make this restitution ; and, as he was far superior in force to

the Portuguese, he did not hesitate to attack them. With little difficulty he got possession of the country of Carvar and its fortress of Opir *, situated in the country of Sunda, formerly dismembered from the kingdom of Canara. As he was preparing to lay siege to the fort of Rama, a fortress on the point of a cape of the same name, and the only barrier that could stop his progress to Goa, the French, who were under his command, refused to give him the least assistance, preferring rather to retire into the fort of Rama than to combat with the Portuguese : M. Hughel, siding with the French, abandoned him likewise.

Ayder, knowing it to be impossible to take this fort with his own troops, did not hesitate in making peace with the Portuguese, who yielded him the country of Carvar. This inconsistency of the French, and other similar events, gave Ayder to understand that he should

* This fortress is much renowned for its strength. Ayder has augmented the fortifications. The Portuguese and the Marattas have besieged it without success. It defends the country of Carvar on the Portuguese side, and the entrance of the river Sangheri, that gives its name to a city at three leagues distance from its mouth, which is the capital of Carvar, and residence of a Catholic bishop.

not well support a war with any European power, and that he could not depend upon the Europeans in his service, excepting when they themselves were at war with his enemies.

When Ayder came a second time to Mangalor, at his return from the war with the Portuguese, he received a solemn deputation from a nation originally from Arabia, but now dispersed over the whole coast of Malabar, and known by the name of Mapelets. At the head of this deputation was Ali, Raja or prince of Cananor. This Ali, son of one of the most rich and powerful Mapelets, had the good fortune in his youth to be beloved by the daughter of the Raja of Cananor, a Nayre * prince.

The

* The Nayres are the nobility of the Malabar coast. We may affirm that they are the oldest nobility in the world; for the ancient writers mention them, and quote the law that permits the Nayre ladies to have many husbands; every one being allowed four. Their houses, which stand single, have as many doors as the lady has husbands. When one of them visits her, he walks round the house, striking with his sabre on his buckler: he then opens his door, and leaves a domestic with his arms in a kind of porch, and who serves to inform others that the lady is engaged. It is said, that one day in the week the four doors are all opened, and all her husbands visit her, and dine together with her. Each husband gives a sum of money, or portion, at

The father, in spite of the diversity of religion, and the prejudice of his nation, which forbids all alliance with a different cast, and much more with strangers of another religion, consented to the marriage of his daughter with Ali, and dying, left him his principality, or the small kingdom of Cananor.

The Mapelets seem to be Arabs of Marcate and Sahar, who have settled in India for the sake of commerce. This nation, forming no alliance with strangers, has preserved its peculiar manners, and a particular physiognomy, much resembling that of the Arabs of Marcate, who have generally the face long, the chin square and turned up, and the beard thin. They are lean, and of a short figure, not in the least resembling the other Arabs, who are large and handsome men, with black thick beards.

The inhabitants of the coast of Malabar at the time of marriage, and the wife only has the charge of the children. The Nayres, even the Samorin, and the other princes, have no other heirs than the children of their sisters. This law was established, that the Nayres, having no family, might be always ready to march against the enemy. When the nephews are of age to bear arms, they follow their uncles. The name of father is unknown to a Nayre child. He speaks of the husbands of his mother, and of his uncles, but never of his father.

having

having suffered the Mapelets to take possession of all the commerce of their country, as well by sea as by land, this nation has become rich and numerous, and that with still less difficulty, by reason that the princes and nobles of the country, having frequent occasion for money, have often had recourse to the Mapelets, who lent them large sums of money at exorbitant interest; sometimes upon pawns, and sometimes in advance upon the harvests of pepper, cardamoms, and rice. These repeated * usuries have increased the riches of the Mapelets, and impoverished the princes or Nabobs of the Malabar coast, known by the name of Nayres. The Mapelets grew proud in consequence of their wealth, and attracted the envy and jealousy of the Nayres. These last, especially the more powerful of them, were not very exact in fulfilling their engagements

* Though the religion of Mahomet forbids usury, the Mapelets make no scruple in that respect, notwithstanding they are great enthusiasts. The shocking effects of their fanaticism have been often seen at Mahé. In an excess of zeal for their religion, the Mapelets intoxicate themselves with opium, and devote themselves to death for the sake of killing Christians and other enemies of their religion. They furiously attack and kill all they meet, and do not cease till they are themselves put to death.

with

with the Mapelets ; who, on their part, were still more arrogant, when they saw Ali, a prince of their nation, elevated to the rank of prince of the country.

In this state of things, Ayder became master of the kingdom of Canara ; and, consequently, a neighbour of the Malabar coast, of which the principality of Cananor is the frontier on the Canara side. Ali Raja, and the Mapelets, concluded that they should insure the possession of their states by putting themselves under the protection of Ayder, who was of the same religion, and whose power and reputation was capable either to protect or subjugate them.

The deputation of the Mapelets was honourably received by Ayder. He loaded their deputies with magnificent presents, and assured them of his protection and good-will. The Mapelets are navigators. Ali Raja had many vessels then well-equipped and ready to set sail. Ayder, who had resolved to have a fleet, in order to defend his coasts from the incursions of the Marattas and other pirates, created Ali Raja his high admiral, and made his brother, Sheic Ali, intendant of the marine, of the ports, and of the maritime commerce of his dominions.

deminions.—He intrusted him likewise with considerable sums for the purposes of purchasing or of building vessels.

Ayder with justice regarded his kingdom of Canara as the most precious gift Providence had bestowed on him, and the best inheritance he could leave to his children. He designed Ayder Nagar to be the capital of all his dominions. He caused all his family to repair thither, except his first wife, the sister of Moctum, and mother of Tippou Saeb, his eldest son, who desired to reside at Benguelour. The intentions of Ayder were, to establish in this kingdom a government calculated to make himself beloved by his people; and he succeeded beyond his hopes.—The government of his other states was shared among his relations.

He left the government of Benguelour and its dependencies to Ibrahim Ali Khan, his uncle, who had so long enjoyed it. To Moc-tum Ali Khan * he gave the government of the kingdom of Mayssour; to Mirza, that

* In the patents given to his relations on this occasion, he prolonged their names. Thus, Moctum Saeb, or Mr. Moctum, was called Moctum Ali Khan, or Lord Moctum Ali.

of Scirra, and all its district ; and to a son of his uncle, named Amin Saeb, the government of the kingdom of Bishnagar.

Ali Raja having formed a small fleet, at the commencement of the fair season made the conquest of the Maldivé islands, under the pretence of some injustice done to his nation ; and after taking their king prisoner, he had the cruelty to put his eyes out. This conquest was made in the name, and on the account of Ayder, whose colours were borne by the fleet. Ali Raja had embarked on board a number of Seapoys, or disciplined soldiers ; so that Ayder's colours had no sooner appeared at sea, but they enforced respect.

Ali Raja having brought back his victorious fleet to Mangalor, came to Nagar to do homage to Ayder, and presented to him the unfortunate king of the Maldives. Ayder, whose character is far from cruel, was so irritated at the barbarity of Ali Raja, that he instantly deprived him of the command of the fleet ; which he afterwards gave to an Englishman named Stanet. Shocked at the inhumanity of Ali Raja, he entreated the king of the Maldives to forgive the outrage his admiral had been guilty of ; and after expressing how much he was afflicted

flicted at the event, and using every argument in his power to console him, he gave him one of his palaces for a retreat, with a revenue sufficient to procure all the pleasures his situation permitted him to enjoy.

The courtiers and poets of this conqueror's court, little acquainted with geography, having learned that their master was become king of twelve thousand islands, added to his titles that of King of the Islands of the Sea.

The conquest of the kingdom of Canara, that had withstood the efforts of Aurengzeb; and that of the Maldivé islands, unknown to the greatest part of the Mogols, added so much to the reputation of Ayder, that almost all the princes of Indostan dispatched ambassadors to congratulate him on his numerous conquests. The poets *, likewise, did not fail, in their poems, to set him above Alexander and Timur.

It was now more than a year that Ayder had

* There are a great number of poets in Indostan, especially in the courts, tho' Ayder does not value himself for the protection of poets and men of letters. There is a poet at court by appointment, who enjoys about £. 125 per month, or a thousand rupees, and the rank of chief or general of a thousand men: he composes a poem on every event that adds to the reputation or glory of the prince.

not quitted the neighbourhood of Nagar, and that, occupied with the cares of government, and his pleasures, he appeared to be delighted with a state of repose till then unknown to him. At this juncture it was that the protection he had granted to the Mapelets recalled him to the head of his troops, and gave him an opportunity of making new conquests.

The Mapelets, proud of the protection of Ayder, gave up that respect and complaisance they had till then preserved for the Rajas and the other Nayres ; they even threatened to do themselves justice by force of arms, if the Nayres did not perform the engagements made with them. The Nayres, whose expences had compelled them to multiply the sums borrowed of the Mapelets, were so beset by that nation of usurers, that they were unable even to pay the interest of the sums due, and saw nothing but ruin in the menaces of the latter.

Irritated as well by the arrogance as by the extortions of a race of people they were in the habit of despising, they resolved, at any rate, to dissolve the connection between them : for this purpose several assemblies were held at Calicut, where the Zamorin, or chief of the Nayres resides, at which it was unanimously resolved,

ed, that on an appointed day a general massacre of all the Mapelets should be every where made. This conspiracy was in part put in practice, and more than six thousand Mapelets were murdered; though the greater number escaped. Their vessels, spread over all the coast, favoured their escape; and in many places, being forewarned, they assembled in sufficient numbers to resist their enemies. The greater number took refuge at Cananor, where they found themselves in security, by reason of its vicinity to the dominions of Ayder, as well as from the two small fortresses of Cananor, one of which belonged to the Hollanders *, and the other to

Ali

* The Hollanders have since sold their fort and territory to Ali Raja, which gave Ayder an opportunity of doing an act of justice to many hundreds of Christians, inhabitants of Cananor, almost all of Portuguese extraction. When the Dutch took Cananor from the Portuguese they found a number of inhabitants round this fortress, whom they permitted to continue in the country. A great number of others have since come into Cananor, where they have built houses, cleared the ground, and cultivated the gardens and fields. The Portuguese and Dutch had granted the lands without any formality, and possession was the only title of these poor people: when the Dutch sold the fort and territory to Ali Raja, they made no stipulation in favour of the inhabitants. Ali Raja having demanded their titles, thought proper to force them to pur-

Ali Raja. The Mapelets, in their distress, hastened to send deputies to Ayder, to inform him of the catastrophe, and implore his protection. This nation, being fanatic Mahometans, their deputies represented to Ayder in their harangue, that God, and the prophet whose relation he was, had made him powerful for no other reason, than that he might protect the true believers; and that the crime of the infidels, which ought to be punished by their destruction, would give him an opportunity of forming new conquests.

Ayder, who was already instructed in the power and force of the empire of the Nayres, and was acquainted with the difficulties that might oppose him in the conquest of the country, did not hesitate to promise justice and protection to the Mapelets. He quickly as-

chase the lands of which they supposed themselves to be proprietors. This avarice of Ali Raja gave occasion to the English to rail against the Dutch, of whom they had been desirous of purchasing the place. In their embarrassment the poor inhabitants had recourse to Ayder, who condemned Ali Raja upon the passage of the Alcoran, that says, "Thou shalt not take from the infidel his house, his field, &c. because they were given him from God; but thou shalt be content with causing him to pay tribute." Ayder fixed this tribute at a rupee, or nearly half a crown, a head.

sembled

sembled twelve thousand of his best troops, of which four thousand were cavalry, and the rest infantry, and began his march to the coast of Malabar, directing his route by Mangalor and Cananor. All the artillery he took with him consisted of four pieces of cannon; and he ordered his fleet to accompany him along the coast, to furnish him with assistance, as it might be required.

On his arrival at Cananor, he found more than twelve thousand Mapelets under arms; ill armed, it must be confessed, but superior in courage to the Nayres, and animated by the desire of vengeance, and the hope of recovering their losses at the expence of their enemies.

Ayder encamped on the banks of the river at Cananor, and dispatched an embassy to Calicut, composed of the most distinguished Bramins * of his court. They had orders to represent

* The Bramins (who are the first cast of Indians, destined by their legislature to be the priests of their religion, as the Levites are by the law of Moses) being become a very numerous body, have been forced to apply themselves to other employs; and as they do not choose to undertake any servile employ, they are introduced into courts, where they do all kinds of business,

represent to the Samorin, and all the Nayre princes, the injustice of the cruelties they had been guilty of to the Mapelets ; and to inform them, that he was come with his army to see justice done them : but that, before he employed force, he judged it expedient to offer his mediation ; promising, that if they would punish the principal offenders, and give a just and reasonable satisfaction to the Mapelets, his army should not advance into their country ; and that he would even undertake the troublesome office of rendering justice to every one. The Nayre princes had agreed to support each other ; and upon the report that Ayder was coming against them to the assistance of the Mapelets, they assembled an army of more than one hundred thousand men. The deputies of Ayder having finished their harangue, the Nayre princes replied, that they were astonished at the conduct of Ayder, with whom they had never had any connection or dependence ; and that if his troops did any thing more than drink the

ness, from the post of minister to that of spy : they are generally writers. Every lord, general, and even the lowest officers, have them in their service ; a great number being forced to acquiesce in the pay of a private soldier.

water

water of the river of Cananor,—if they even presumed to set their feet in the river, they should be attacked and punished for their temerity. On this answer the ambassadors of Ayder returned to their master ; and the Nayres, having collected all their forces, appeared with the firm resolution to prevent Ayder from passing the river.

The arrival of Ayder and his army on the Malabar coast induced all the European nations who have establishments there to send deputies to him.

Upon the great reputation of Ayder, it was not doubted but he would make a conquest of the whole country. The deputies of every nation were in haste to treat with him for the security of their factories and their commerce. As they expected to find this great conqueror at the head of a numerous army, they were astonished to see so small a number of troops : many of them could not help expressing their surprise to the European officers of the army ; magnifying, at the same time, the forces of the Nayre princes, which they affirmed to exceed one hundred and twenty thousand men. The officers answered, that since the Nabob, who had it in his power to assemble a much greater
I army,

army, had brought no more than twelve thousand men with him, it was to be presumed, that he was certain that the number he had brought was sufficient to defeat his enemies. This proper answer, which, to instructed and enlightened men, would have had its due force, made very little impression on the deputies, who had no notion of the military art, and still less of tactics : they made haste to return to their counting-houses, well convinced that the little army of Ayder would be destroyed by that of the Nayres, who had lined the opposite bank of the river with a numerous artillery, and were continually firing and making rhodomontades. Ayder, perfectly acquainted with the genius of all the people of India, held himself assured of the victory, and founded his expectation on his cavalry ; which was a body of troops absolutely unknown to the Nayres, no foreign army having penetrated as far as the Malabar coast, where no horses had been ever seen, except a few belonging to the European chiefs of the factory, and purchased by them more for pleasure than utility : for this country, intersected by rivulets, and covered with woods, besides being subject to continual rains for seven months in the year, is absolutely improper

proper for the breeding and keeping of horses.

To succeed in his attempt, in spite of this numerous army and the artillery, Ayder caused his fleet to enter the river. His vessels sailed up as far as possible ; and, drawing up his infantry in order of battle in a single line in face of the enemy, with his twelve pieces of cannon, he waited for the ebb of the water. When the river was at the lowest he entered it full gallop, at the head of his cavalry, which he had till then kept out of sight of the Nayres : they were led on by fifty of the French hussars, lately arrived from Pondicherry. As the rapidity of the current was diminished by his vessels, he traversed the river without difficulty at a place where it was a league in breadth, sometimes swimming, and sometimes wading : he soon came to the other river, where the Nayres were busied in attempting to oppose the infantry, who pretended to be on the point of passing over. They were frightened at the sudden appearance of the cavalry, and fled with the utmost precipitation and disorder, without making any other defence but that of discharging a
few

few cannon, which 'they were too much intimidated to point properly. Ayder, foreseeing this event, had given orders to pursue the fugitives full speed, cutting down all they could overtake, without losing time, either by taking prisoners, or securing plunder.

This order being executed with the utmost strictness, nothing was to be seen in the roads, for the distance of four leagues round, but scattered limbs and mutilated bodies. The country of the Nayres was thrown into a general consternation, which was much increased by the cruelty of the Mapelets, who, following the cavalry, massacred all who had escaped, without sparing women or children: so that the army advancing under the conduct of this enraged multitude, instead of meeting with resistance, found the villages, fortresses, temples, and in general every habitable place, forsaken and deserted. It was not till they were near the environs of Tellicherry and Mahé, French and English establishments, that they began to find people, who had taken refuge near those places.

Notwithstanding this general defection, the army was in want of nothing: they every where
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found cows, oxen, poultry, rice, and all sorts of provisions that could be wished for in a fertile country ; the fugitives having abandoned every thing, without daring to load themselves with the least article that could impede their flight.

Ayder caused his army to halt near these settlements, and sent an offer of peace to the Samorin, and other princes, on reasonable terms. The Samorin, who was old, remained quiet in his palace, and sent word, that he waited for the conqueror, and trusted to his discretion.

This halt of the army, the sending of several Bramins, and more especially the tranquillity of the Samorin, encouraged the inhabitants, who returned for the most part to their houses : they were still more encouraged at finding that the Mapelets committed no outrages, except on the persons or property of Nayres ; but the Nayres continued to conceal themselves in the woods and mountains, from whence they carried on a kind of concealed war with the Mapelets.

Ayder marched for Calicut, and found no other resistance in his route, but from a large pagoda, built on a mountain, and fortified.

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In this place the nephew and presumptive heir of the Samorin had taken refuge, and found means to make his escape from thence, though it was invested: after his departure, the Bramins opened the gates to Ayder. The conqueror continued his journey to Calicut, and took up his residence at the English factory, where his fleet arrived before him. He enquired for the Samorin on his arrival, and was informed that he was in his palace, without any guard, waiting the commands of the conqueror; from whom he hoped for mild treatment, as he had always formally opposed the resolution to massacre the Mapelets, and had foretold the consequences to his nephews.

On this intelligence, Ayder returned into his * palanquin, and gave orders to advise the Samorin of his approaching visit. He met this prince, who came forth and threw himself at his feet; Ayder hastened to raise him, and the Samorin offered his presents, consisting of two small basons of gold, one filled with precious stones, and the other with pieces of

* The palanquin is a kind of litter carried by six men. It is in common use in India, both for travelling and in cities, and is a very easy and convenient carriage.

gold, and two small cannons of gold, with carriages of the same metal. The two princes having entered the palace, Ayder testified the utmost respect for the Samorin, and promised to restore his dominions (on condition of his paying a small annual tribute) as soon as his subjects had laid down their arms, and the affair of the Mapelets was amicably settled. These two princes parted, apparently much satisfied with each other; but the world was highly astonished, the next day, to behold the palace of the Samorin on fire; and though Ayder himself assisted in procuring help, it was impossible to save any thing, the edifice being entirely wood; and the Samorin, with all his family, and, as it is presumed, much treasure, perished in the flames.

This prince had himself caused the palace to be set on fire, being resolved to terminate his life in that manner, on account of some letters he had received from his nephews and the kings of Travancour and of Cochin *. These letters contained the bitterest reproaches and execrations, treating him as the betrayer of his

* These two kings were not tributary to the Samorin; but being of the same cast as the Nayres, they made it a common cause.

country,

country, and apostate to his religion, which he had abandoned to the Mahometans. The Bramin who had conveyed these letters to him avowed to him at the same time, that he was degraded and excluded from his cast; and that all the Bramins and Nayres had sworn never to have any communication with him. The tragical end of the Samorin affected Ayder extremely; and he was so irritated against the nephews of that prince, that he publicly swore he would never restore their dominions.

The princes of Calicut, assisted by the kings of Travancour and Cochin, had collected a considerable army on the river of Paniani, twelve leagues from Calicut, where they appeared disposed to make better opposition than they did near the river of Cananor. They had even collected together some European cannoners and Portuguese artificers; but upon the approach of Ayder, they had not the courage to face him, and saved themselves by precipitately withdrawing their whole army. Ayder passed the river, and attacked Paniani, which made very little resistance, though the best and almost the only fortress in the country. He continued to pursue his enemies till he arrived at the environs of Cochin, where,
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by the mediation of the Hollanders, he made peace with the king of that place, on his engaging to pay tribute.

The example of the king of Cochin was followed by the submission of all the Nayre princes ; who sued for peace, and obtained it on condition of doing homage, paying tribute to Ayder, and rendering ample justice each to the Mapelets in his respective districts. On these terms they were all put into free possession of their dominions ; the nephews of the Samorin only being excluded from theirs.

After putting garrisons in Calicut and Paniani, Ayder bestowed the government of this state on the Raja of Coilmoutour, a Bramin, prince of a small country dependant on Mayssour, and separated from the Nayres only by the mountains. He hoped that this prince, entitled to respect from the Nayres, as being a Bramin, would be capable of maintaining peace and order, on account of his intimate knowledge of their manners and customs.

The rainy season, which is very long and tempestuous on the coast of Malabar, began to appear, and obliged Ayder to quit the country :

but in order to be at hand to watch his new conquest, he retired only to Coilmontour, the residence of the Raja, whose palace he occupied.

This country is beyond the mountains called *Gates*, and is not subject to the rains that overflow the coast of Malabar, from the middle of April to the end of September.

Passing by Madigheri, a large town and fortress on the frontier of the Malabar, at the distance of six leagues from Coilmoutour, Ayder left Raza Saeb, son of Chanda Saeb, in quarters, with three thousand infantry.

Ayder imagined that the Nayres, awed by his power, and contented with his moderation, would peaceably support the yoke he had placed upon them ; but he was not yet sufficiently acquainted with the characters of that haughty people, who, once offended, never pardon their enemies, however great their wrongs.

The month of May was not yet elapsed, when a general revolt of the Nayres manifested itself over all the coast of Malabar. It commenced by the massacre of a small garrison of about two hundred men, that were surprised by the inhabitants of a large town, called Pondiaghari,

Pondiaghari, situated at the foot of the fortrefs. They carried their cruelty fo far as to cut off five French foldiers, deserters from Mahé, who, intending to enter in the army of Ayder, arrived in the town the day after the mafacre : and, as a ftill greater inftance of the inhuman rage by which they were actuated, they ripped up two women who accompanied thefe unfortunate foldiers.

According to every appearance, this revolt was the effect of the fecret intrigues of the king of Travancour, and the nephews of the Samorin. It would doubtlefs have been lefs general, if the Raja of Coilmoutour, Ali Raja, and his brother Sheic Raja, who were intrufted with the charge of feeing the Mapelets reimbursed, had been more temperate in their rapines and exactions.

As the immense quantities of water that fall in the Malabar country convert the fmalleft rivulets into large rivers ; and as this country offers an almoft infurmountable obftacle, by the torrents caufed by the overflowing of the waters, that are met with almoft at every fttep, during the rainy feafon ; the Nayres, habituated to their climate, and going abfolutely naked in the ftormy months, believed, with reafon, that they fhould

have time to take Calicut and Paniani, and destroy the Mapelets, before Ayder could enter their country; but they were yet to learn, that their conqueror was not to be stopped by obstacles much greater than those they depended on. They had taken their measures so effectually, that Raza Saeb, commandant at Madigheri, and Ayder, were still ignorant of their revolt.

Calicut and Paniani were already invested by the army of the Nayres, when the news came to Ayder, by means of a Portuguese sailor, who, on the promises of reward from the governor of Paniani, ventured to ascend the river of the same name alone, in a canoe made of bamboo *, and covered with skin. This sailor, travelling only in the night, notwithstanding

* These boats of bamboo, covered with skin, are in fact a kind of basket; and are of admirable use in armies, more especially in the Malabar country. Ayder had a great number in his army: two men carried the skeleton of one, and two more the skin: in a quarter of an hour they are ready for use; and one boat will carry twenty-five men, or a piece of cannon. The editor of the *Memoirs of General Lawrence* makes fifty horses enter one of these boats; but the fact is false: the horse swims, and the horseman, who is in the boat, holds the bridle.

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ing the danger of wild beasts and noxious reptiles, and with no other guide than a pocket compass, arrived at Madigheri. He apprized Raza Saeb of the revolt, and the danger to which Ayder's troops at Calicut and Paniani were exposed.

This general, without loss of time, caused the Portuguese to be conducted to Ayder at Coilmoutour; and himself immediately marched with his forces towards Paniani, in spite of the rains, and the inundation under which almost all the country was laid by the overflowing of the rivers. This precipitate march made some impression on the revolters, as soon as they were apprized of it; but hearing that he had brought no cavalry, they detached a party of their army, which harraßed Raza Saeb at the crossing of each river, and at length succeeded (perhaps by the fault of his guides) to draw him into a place between the meeting of two rivers that joined near Pondiaghari, where he found himself shut up, without being able to pass on either side, by reason of the depth and rapidity of the water; and cut off from returning by the defiles he had passed, which were every where rendered difficult to pass, by fell-

ing of trees, and the Nayres, who were in ambuscade in various parts.

Ayder no sooner heard of the revolt than he recalled a party of his cavalry that had been luckily cantoned near Coilmontour. While he was thus collecting the strongest part of his army from Mayssour and other parts of his dominions, he commanded a select party of his infantry to be in readiness to march on the shortest notice : however, in expectation that Raza Saeb might disperse the mutineers, he waited for news, before he exposed to so insalubrious a season troops designed for very different operations.

Raza Saeb having contrived to send advice of his situation, Ayder immediately marched with three thousand horse, and ten thousand Seapoys or Topasses. He ordered his cavalry, both officers and men, to ride without saddles; and commanded his infantry to quit their habits, and march naked, excepting a pair of light drawers and shoes. Each soldier was provided with a waxed cloth to wrap up his knapsack; and the three hundred Europeans lately arrived from Pondicherry and Colombo, were offered parasols, as they did not chuse to
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quit their habits. Their refusal was the cause that they were almost the only persons in the army that were attacked by the dysentery.

All the artillery of this small army consisted in twelve light pieces of cannon, that were carried by elephants.

It is scarcely possible to form an idea of the species of war to which Ayder led his troops this campaign. Imagine an army of fifteen thousand men marching from the break of day through a mountainous country, in roads or passages scarcely admitting more than three men a-breast, exposed from morning till night to a constant shower, equal to those that fall in the greatest storms, attended with frequent thunder and lightning, excepting for three hours after noon, in which the sun shone out with almost insupportable lustre and heat ; frequently obliged to cross rivers up to the chin in water, and sometimes swimming ; and passing the night in towns or villages deserted by their inhabitants, where, however, they found plenty of the necessaries of life. Their path was every where marked by ruin and destruction, for their orders were to burn and pillage, and they exerted themselves so much in this horrible work ;

that they left behind them nothing but heaps of ruins, where houses had formerly stood.

This unexpected march obliged the Nayres to collect all their troops, and gave some relief to the troops of Raza Saeb, tho' not sufficient to prevent his losing many of his men for want of necessaries, and in consequence of the hardships they were subjected to. The Nayre princes, tho' half defeated by the fear of the consequences of their revolt, nevertheless expected Ayder with confidence in a retrenched camp near Pondiaghari, which on its left wing had a village fortified with a ditch and parapet planted with pallisades, well furnished with artillery, and maintained by the most resolute, who had determined rather to perish than yield. Ayder *, for the attack of this retrenched camp, disposed of his army so that four thousand

* Ayder, before he made the attack, was persuaded by his chief almoner, named Caka Saeb, to suffer him to go near the Nayres, and persuade them to surrender. This Perjada (for so the doctors of their law are called) was sitting in a meadow with his brother, in conference with the deputies, when the enemy fired on him, and broke his brother's arm. Some horsemen, whom his brother (then captain of artillery) had brought with him rode up, and helped them to escape.

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of his best Seapoys, forming the right wing, were charged to attack the village ; this corps was commanded by a Portuguese lieutenant colonel *, lately arrived from Goa, with different officers of his nation. The left wing, composed of Topasses, was commanded by an English officer ; and Ayder himself commanded the main body, having behind him a reserve of Europeans almost all French, with whom were joined those who are called the *Bara Ademis*, or *Great Men*, a corps composed of all the young nobility and courtiers, without excepting even the generals, who have not appointed posts or command on the day of battle. They were all on foot, and armed with sabres and bucklers, having voluntarily put themselves under the command of the officer of Europeans, whom

* Ayder being informed by Naza Saeb, who had resided at Colombo for two years after the capture of Pondicherry, that all the European powers had introduced the Prussian exercise among their troops, wrote to Goa, Bombay, Pondicherry, Madras, Colombo, &c. to send him officers to discipline his troops. The Portuguese lieutenant colonel had arrived from Goa on this occasion. His improper manœuvre during the battle, and an unfortunate affair that happened to him the following night, caused Ayder to speak harshly to him ; at which, being affronted, he demanded his dismissal, and immediately obtained it.

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they promised to follow wherever he might lead them.

The cavalry, that could not be of service till after the entrenchment was forced, was formed behind the corps-de-reserve. According to the orders, the Portuguese officer attacked the retrenched village with his four thousand Seapoys, by conducting them bravely to the edge of the ditch ; but, without advancing a step farther, he contented himself with causing his troop to fire, as if at their exercise. These unfortunate Seapoys, totally exposed, were destroyed with impunity by their enemies, who fired from pent-holes, or from behind the hedges. This firing, which lasted upwards of two hours, highly enraged Ayder, who receiving every moment news of the state of the attack, learned with the utmost mortification the unavailing loss of his best troops. The French officer, commandant of the Europeans, who lately arrived, and had not yet had an opportunity of distinguishing himself, offered to advance with the corps-de-reserve, and put himself at the head of the Seapoys. Ayder answered, that he might do as he thought proper ; and he immediately joined his troop, which was impatient for the combat, and burned with a desire

to revenge the French who were inhumanly massacred at Pondiaghari. Headed by this active and courageous officer, and joined by the Bara Ademis, they ran with violent eagerness to the attack. The intervals between the battalions of Seapoys afforded them a passage : they jumped into the ditch, and hastily ascending the retrenchments tore up the pallisades, and were in the face of the enemy in an instant. They gave no quarter ; and the enemy, astonished to the last degree at their impetuosity and rage, suffered themselves to be butchered even without resistance. The flames of the village on fire, and the direction of the cannon now pointed on the distracted Nayres, evinced to Ayder that the village was carried. The whole army, in consequence, moved to attack the retrenchment ; but the enemy, perceiving that Ayder's troops had stormed their out-post, and catching the affright of the fugitives, fled from their camp with disorder and precipitation.

Ayder had supposed his enemies would have exhibited more firmness on this occasion. This brave and fortunate attack, which was much exalted by the young nobility that shared the glory, gave him infinite pleasure. He created
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the French commandant Bahader upon the spot ; and in the evening presented him with a patent, appointing him general of ten thousand horse, which is the highest military post among the Mogols ; at the same time declaring him general in chief of his artillery. He likewise gave a gratification of thirty rupees to every foldier, and twice that sum to each of the wounded ; of which there was a great number, though no more than one died.—As the Nayres had no bayonets, the wounds were only cuts with the sabre, little dangerous where ready assistance is to be had. The Europeans inspired the Malabars with a new terror by this exploit ; and Ayder, to increase it, spread a report that he expected many thousand men from Europe : he added, that they were a cruel people, and devourers of human flesh ; and that his intention was, to deliver all the coast to their outrages. The rage and fury by which his small handful of French were urged on to revenge their murdered countrymen, gave much force to the belief the wretched inhabitants were disposed to afford to his reports. Wherever he turned, he found no opponent, nor even any human creature ; every inhabited place was forsaken ; and the poor inhabitants,

inhabitants, who fled to the woods and mountains in the most inclement season, had the anguish to behold their houses in flames, their fruit-trees cut down, their cattle destroyed, and their temples burned *. The perfidy of the Nayres had been too great for them to trust the offers of pardon made by Ayder, by means of Bramins he dispatched into the woods and mountains to recall these unhappy people; who were hanged without mercy, and their wives and children reduced to slavery, whenever they were found in the woods by the troops of Ayder; severity and mildness being both equally ineffectual in making them return to their homes.

* The *Sieur Pocot de la Mothe*, French commandant at Mahé, had written to the commandant of Europeans in the army of Ayder, to take the trouble, on this occasion, to search for the *Vedam*, and *Ouzam Vedam*, transcribed (if the fact be credible) before the time of Alexander; *M. le Duc d'Ayen*, now *Marshal Duc de Noailles*, having given him a commission to procure them at any price. The officer, desirous of complying with the wish of this nobleman, caused different Bramins to look over the vast quantities of books, composed of plates of copper, held together by dozens by rings, which were destined by the captor to be cast into cannon. The Bramins charged with this examination, who were no other than the writers or secretaries in the army, informed him

homes. Ali Raja, and the Mapelets, who saw themselves thus involved in the ruin of the Nayres, persuaded Ayder to return to Coilmoutour, in hopes that his absence might remove the timidity of the people : and it is highly probable that the dysentery that raged in his army was a much more effectual reason that induced him to leave the country. The officers and Europeans, who had retained their clothing, and had more particularly abused the liberty of doing as they pleased, were the most exposed to this dangerous malady.

Before he quitted the country, Ayder, by a solemn edict, declared the Nayres deprived of all their privileges ; and ordained that their

him that all these books contained nothing more than accounts of the expences of the pagodas, with the names of the Bramins and their children. Some of these books that were preserved, and afterwards put into the hands of more learned Bramins, were found to contain an enumeration of names of Bramins. What makes it reasonable to suppose these books were of little value, is their being written in *Tambou*, the modern language of the Malabars ; and the ancient language is the *Ouria* tongue, preserved by the priests of the Christians of St. Thomas, whose religious rites are performed in that language.—There is a printing-office at Rome for books in this tongue, where the Propaganda cause missals and breviaries to be printed for their priests.

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cast, which was the first after the Bramins, should thereafter be the lowest of all the casts; subjecting them to salute the Parias and others of the lowest casts, by ranging themselves before them, as the other Malabars had been obliged to do before the Nayres; permitting all the other casts to bear arms, and forbidding them to the Nayres, who till then had enjoyed the sole right of carrying them; at the same time allowing and commanding all persons to kill such Nayres as were found bearing arms. By this rigorous edict Ayder expected to make all the other casts enemies of the Nayres; and that they would rejoice in the occasion of revenging themselves for the tyrannic oppression this nobility had till then exerted over them.

This ordinance being found to make the submission of the Nayres absolutely impossible, because they would have thought death preferable to such a degradation, he made a new edict, by which he re-established in all their rights and privileges such Nayres as should embrace the Mahometan religion. Many of these nobles took the turban on this occasion; but the greater part remained dispersed, and chose rather to take refuge in the kingdom of Travancour than submit to this last ordinance.

Though the approach of the fine season, and the terror he had spread, might have left little apprehension of another revolt, yet he left several bodies of troops in the country, distributed in posts so situated as to assist each other in case of necessity, and quartered the rest of his infantry in the neighbourhood of Madigheri, taking only his cavalry with him to Coilmontour, which he was obliged to spread over the country, on account of the scarcity of forage.

On his arrival at Coilmontour, Ayder found there a body of four thousand Maratta cavalry lately arrived. More than a year had elapsed since he had ordered this corps to be raised, and since the chiefs had received the necessary sums of a Bramin, named Chamrao, formerly attached to Mons. Bussi, but since entered into the service of Ayder, whose confidence he had acquired. This Bramin had not been sufficiently sparing of the money; and when the Marattas had received it, they were in no haste to complete their engagements. Instead of three months, they were scarcely ready to march in eight. Their horses, instead of being of the height and quality agreed on, were mostly small, such as are used by servants,

vants, and called Tatoos in India. In short, instead of a regular body of cavalry, it was nothing more than a collection of peasants and vagabonds, incapable of forming a line, or indeed of doing any thing, but rob and pillage. Secure in possession of the Bramin's money, they paid little regard to his complaints; and, in order to avoid losing the whole, he was obliged to take the troops, such as they were. When they were on their journey, they advanced very slowly, and made continual stops; so that instead of one month, they employed four in making their journey; and even that degree of expedition was not obtained, but in consequence of repeated sums advanced by the distressed Chamrao.

The Marattas would not have acted in this manner, if they had been acquainted with the character of Ayder; who, for the sake of œconomy, was in the habit of requiring an exact account of the sums expended for the maintenance of his troops, and was not easily deceived. In fact, having passed them in review the day after his arrival, he found them in so bad a state that he could not avoid expressing his surprize to the Bramin. Chamrao had long since written to Ayder, com-
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plaining of the mutiny and disobedience, not only of the private men, but of their officers. Ayder complained to the chiefs, that his orders were so ill executed : he signified to them, that, on account of their disorderly appearance and bad equipment, he would receive the troops, as his custom was with all his cavalry, and reform all those that were not agreeable to the agreements made with Chamrao, his agent: that he likewise expected they would account for all the money employed in raising the troop ; and besides, to shew them his displeasure to find, that, regardless of every thing that could be urged by the person intrusted with his orders, they had employed in their journey four times the space necessary to perform it in, he had given orders to his treasurer to deduct from their account the time they had voluntarily lost by passing through unusual roads.

These Marattas, who, according to their own account, had large sums to receive, murmured loudly at finding themselves obliged to renounce a considerable part of their claim. Not at all habituated, in their own country, to be commanded despotically, they resolved with one accord to return to their camp ; with

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menaces to do themselves justice, if refused it by fair means.

They who knew Ayder, and how circumspect he is, could not conceive how he could so indiscreetly put himself in the power of these Marattas ; having kept with him at Coilmoutour no more than five hundred Seapoys, and thirty Europeans, who were their commandant's guard.

Fortunately, the Maratta troops were not ignorant that Ayder was able, in a very short time, to collect military of every denomination : in the mean time they demanded payment within the hour, or in default they threatened to mount their horses, and return into their own country, destroying and pillaging all that might offer in their way.

Ayder reproached himself secretly for the vivacity that had led him to use menaces with those people, at an instant in which he was not prepared to give law to them. Though he had little to fear personally, it would have been more prudent in him to have retired at this juncture into the fortrefs of Coilmoutour ; but that courage, which never abandoned him, led him to surmount the difficulty and danger that now presented itself.

In this embarrassment Maffous Khan, ancient Nabob of Arcot, and brother of Mehemet Ali, advised him to send for the French commandant, and give him the charge of reducing this mutinous cavalry to reason. Ayder approved of the thought, and sent for the officer : he explained the affair to him, and informed him that, by the advice of the Nabob of Arcot, he requested he would undertake to bring those vagabonds to hear reason ; whom he could easily reduce by force of arms, but that he wished to use milder methods. The French officer consented to shew himself worthy of the confidence Ayder honoured him with, though he saw all the difficulty attending the execution of the business : however, he undertook it with ardour, being desirous of continually rendering himself more useful and necessary.

To begin his negotiation, he sent word to the Maratta chief, that he was desirous of paying him a visit, in order to cultivate an acquaintance with him and the other great men of his nation : at the same instant he sent an express for Madigheri, with orders for all the Europeans to march for Coilmoutour ; and, together with his letter, he dispatched an

order from Ayder to the commander in chief of the cantonment, to send off all the Topasses, which amounted to a body of above four thousand men.

The Maratta chief having accepted with joy the visit the French officer proposed, received him with the greatest politeness, as did the other chiefs who were assembled on the occasion. In order to obtain their confidence, the commandant, after making the usual compliments (that is to say, spoken highly of the valour and merit of the Maratta nation) proceeded to inform them, that he wished to visit them, because the French and himself were nearly in the same situation as the Maratta cavalry; and it might be found advantageous to unite their pretensions, and make a common cause. The fact in reality was, that the French troops arrived in Ayder's dominions at the very juncture in which the revolt of the Nayres demanded his attention, and had remained a considerable time at Syringapatnam. It is true, that he had received considerable sums by order of Ayder; but, though he had already been engaged in actual service, no agreement had yet been made for the emoluments and pay of himself and his troops.

This overture having infused the confidence of the Marattas, they began to exclaim against Ayder, and accused him of breach of faith, by speaking almost all at once; their chief at last found an opportunity of speaking alone: he spoke highly of the conduct and behaviour of his troops, and placed their pretensions in the most favourable point of view; and the French officer, seeming to give credit to their words, was careful not to shew any intimation that he was charged with any commission from Ayder: he gave them reason to suppose the contrary; and even acquainted them (as in confidence) that he expected his troop the next day, who, impatient to know their fate, would come expressly to decide it: that therefore he judged it expedient for them to wait till the Europeans were arrived; and in the mean time, he would go to Ayder, as if from himself, and offer his mediation: the Marattas unanimously approved this project, and accepted his offer with gladness. Things thus adjusted for the present, there was no question concerning the expediting of business: the Marattas promised the French officer, that they would return his visit the following day at the same hour, to learn the effect of his intended

intended conference with Ayder; and they parted good friends. All the country resounded with the valour of the French; and the Marattas, who had the highest opinion of them, on account of the defeat of Nazerzing, and the exploits of M. Buffi *, were highly flattered with this kind of alliance with them.

The following day the few Europeans that were at Madigheri, to the number of four hundred men, began to appear, but irregularly, in small numbers, consisting of three or four at most in a party. By this artifice, they appeared to be coming in all day, without its being possible for the Marattas to judge of their number; and those who arrived did not fail to acquaint the enquirers, that the main body would soon arrive: accordingly, at the close of the night, a column of infantry passed by the Maratta camp, with

* This ought not to be taken for flattery. The Author has long ago assured the people in power, that M. Buffi enjoys the highest reputation in Indostan; and it is certain, that a Frenchman among the Marattas, or in the army of the Suba of Decan, will be every moment asked *Moussa Buffi qu'an é?* or, what is become of M. Buffi?

drums beating and colours flying, composed of Topasses *, who had been sent from Madigheri, and were headed by the Europeans who, by another route, had went out of Coilmoutour to join them.

This artifice caused the Marattas to believe the Europeans were much more numerous than they really were ; and their notion was strengthened by the hats of the Topasses, and their drums and fifes, which resemble the

* The Topasses are black Christians, who call themselves Portuguese, and have the names of the first families in Portugal ; but who, to all appearance, are descended from slaves, born and brought up in the houses of the Portuguese, who treat very favourably, and with great humanity, those slaves whom they call *Creanza de Caza*, or Children of the House. The Europeans have never been able to form good troops out of those people ; which arises, no doubt, from the contemptuous manner they treat them with : instead of which, Ayder has always put them on an equality with the Seapoys, and even preferred them to his other troops ; as will be seen in the course of this History. The officers of these Topasses are Europeans ; which circumstance, however, does not prevent those among them who distinguish themselves, from being promoted : in consequence of this treatment, they may be regarded as Ayder's best troops, and those he can most rely on.

others ;

others ; and as they played the same marches, and it was almost dark when they appeared, it was not easy to perceive the difference.

The principal Maratta chiefs waited on the French commandant ; who receiving them with the most attentive politeness and regard, acquainted them, that he had found Ayder disposed to act in the most amicable manner with them, and had accepted his mediation ; but that he had promised to keep strictly to the agreement made with his agent, Chamrao : that he consented, either that himself alone, or with such other persons of consequence as the Marattas might chuse, would pass in review, one by one, the horsemen and their horses, for the purpose of reforming those that were not according to the agreement : and likewise, that after having taken an account of the length of the journey they had had to perform, arbitrators should decide the time they ought to have employed. The French commandant added, that these propositions having appeared to him equitable, he had judged it proper to submit, and accept them ; being well convinced of the candid and noble manner of thinking that distinguished the Maratta nation.

They,

They, who did not find their account in this method of adjusting the affair, exclaimed much against the facility of the officer, and assured him that they would not consent to be thus passed in review ; and more particularly because Chamrao, the envoy of Ayder, had seen and approved the horses, which had not since been changed ; and that with respect to his demand concerning the time employed in the journey, it was at the very request of Chamrao, they affirmed, that they had sojourned on the road, in order that they might not arrive at Coilmoutour during the absence of the Nabob, being informed that forages were very rare. These Maratta officers having persisted in their determination, maintained firmly that the propositions made to them were unreasonable ; and that they could not accept them, nor abate their pretensions, without the consent of all the chiefs, of whom they would convene an assembly. The night approaching, they returned very dissatisfied with their visit, and the resolution of Ayder.

The French officer, not to render himself suspected by paying too great attention to the situation of their encampment, thought proper to commit that charge to one of his adjutants.

tants *. This officer reported that the camp was in a meadow situated between two banks, one serving to retain the water of a great tank, and the other as a passage at the time of rain ; that the meadow was bounded at one end by a hill impracticable to cavalry, because covered with fruit-trees, and intersected by hedges and walls of earth, that divide the property of different persons ; that at the extremity of the bank, that served for a road, there were some houses, and a small pagoda ; and, lastly, that he was of opinion, that two hundred men, and some pieces of cannon, placed in this hamlet, would be able to prevent the Marattas from going out of their camp. In consequence of this advice, cannon were conveyed in the night to this post, and 250 men, who entrenched themselves. A barbette battery of ten pieces of cannon was constructed, which was by no means an agreeable sight to the Marattas when day-light appeared. Their chiefs having sent to the officer who commanded the post, to demand with what intention those cannon were pointed at their camp, received answer, that they had been

* This adjutant was M. de Lallie, who now commands a corps in Ayder's army of two hundred and fifty European horsemen ; of which he is proprietor, as well as of a regiment of Seapoys.

placed there by his commandant, with orders to fire on the first Maratta that should attempt to get on horseback ; and that if they desired farther information, they must apply to the commandant. On this they dispatched two of their officers, who complained of this act of hostility, but with much politeness, and an air that sufficiently exhibited their fear. The commandant did not hesitate to answer, that having been so little satisfied the preceding evening with their reception of the propositions of Ayder, which to him appeared just and reasonable ; and fearing that, by a precipitate resolution of returning into their own country, they might betray his faith and honour, pledged to the sovereign on their account, he thought it incumbent on him to take these precautions. But, nevertheless, he wished to continue his mediation, and would certainly join them, if Ayder refused to do them justice. This discourse having encouraged them, they protested they were ready to treat ; and that, trusting entirely to his promises, all the chiefs would wait on him at an hour to be appointed, for a conference with Ayder's ministers.

On the assurance given them that no act of hostility should be committed, provided they remained

remained quiet in their camp, they returned to their quarters. The commandant repaired to Ayder to inform him of their good dispositions: he found him alone with Maffous Khan, who likewise offered himself as mediator and interpreter, for which he was qualified by speaking very good Portuguese.

In consideration of the advanced age and high rank of this personage, the French officer begged he would consent that the meeting might be held at his house. Advice was given to the Marattas, who repaired thither at the close of the evening. Two Bramins, secretaries to Ayder, likewise attended, and every thing was arranged in two days; Maffous Khan having removed all the difficulties with a degree of address and intelligence very uncommon, but acquired by fifty years experience in this sort of negotiations. It was agreed, that none should be dismissed but such horses as were absolutely incapable of any kind of service; that they should all pass in exact review; that such as should be judged in a state to serve as good cavalry, should be paid at the rate of forty rupees a month, man and horse, according to the agreement made with Chamrao; and that the others should be reduced to five-and-twenty,

ty, and should serve as irregular cavalry. The time allowed for the journey was set at three months.

After this review it was found that one hundred and fifty horse only were entitled to forty rupees, and the rest were reduced to five-and-twenty. The principal chief, whose troop was well mounted, and who alone possessed eight hundred horse, had none dismissed ; perhaps there was indulgence shewn him, on account of the pains he had taken to accommodate the difference.

The affair being thus satisfactorily adjusted, Ayder made a present of twenty-two horses to the French officer, to mount twenty Europeans, to serve him as a guard, and accompany him every where : at the same time he gave orders to the Bacfi * and the secretary at war, to settle the pay and emoluments of all the Europeans ; Ayder being in the custom never to settle his pecuniary affairs himself, but committing the charge of them to ministers, who have no permission to conclude any business without the precise orders of their

* The Bacfi is properly the minister at war, and the secretary is subjected to his orders, though generally he is the confidential minister of the Nabob.

master. To make their court, the Bacfi and his colleague exclaimed against the exorbitant pretensions of the Europeans, and proposed abatements that were flatly rejected : but as the corps of Europeans was not numerous, the subject of these discussions was of small consequence to Ayder : to end them therefore, and to make a parade of generosity that he thought suitable to his rank, he ordered the commandant and principal officers before him, and, addressing himself to the former, “ I hear, with concern,” said he, “ that you do not agree with the Bacfi and Narimrao. Why did not you apply to me ? have you forgot that I have, both by writing and conversation, informed you, that you may dispose of every thing I possess ; and that the French are esteemed by me as brothers ?” Upon which he gave orders to Narimrao to prepare the Batis *, and he signed them

* The Batis are small writings or warrants. Every person in the military service has one, from the general to the drummer. This writing contains the name of the person, and of his father and grandfather ; a description of his person, and that of his horse (if he be a horseman) ; the day he entered the service ; his station, and his pay ; and as often as he is paid the sum is entered on the same : those of the officers contain simply the name, the station or degree, and the sums received.

them before he dismissed the officers ; at the same time inviting them to an entertainment to be given at the palace the next day.

As it could not be expected that the coast of Malabar would ever enjoy a state of tranquillity while the Nayre princes were on the frontiers, and in the country of Travancour, Ayder resolved to make the conquest of that kingdom ; for which, however, he could urge no better reason than that the king of that country had assisted his enemies. Though this kingdom is of small extent, it is very populous ; and its king, Ram Raja, has acquired a reputation for his valour and prudence, which gave reason to conclude that the undertaking would be attended with much difficulty.

Ayder knew that his enemy had long exerted himself in disciplining his army ; that he had a numerous corps of Seapoys well

received. The Batis are triple, and in three different languages, Persian, Maratta, and Canarin ; and as there are three chancellors, they are preserved in the greatest order. Ayder signs the state of accounts every month, as well as a particular state for every troop ; for no payment is made without the signature of Ayder, or, in his absence, of the general commandant.

armed,

armed, and a train of artillery served by good cannoneers, procured from the Danes, the English, and the Dutch. He likewise knew that the country was not to be penetrated but by way of narrow passages through mountains, where Ram Raja had caused fortresses to be constructed, which he was firmly resolved to defend to the utmost. Neither was he ignorant, that the English, jealous of his power, had assembled troops in Madura and Marava, countries dependant on Mehemet Ali Khan, and frontier to Travancour : but, habituated to overcome all obstacles, he was determined to pursue his intention. He trusted to the promises made by the English deputies, who had waited upon him on the coast of Malabar ; to whom he had granted not only a confirmation of all their former privileges, but had, besides, given permission to establish a factory at Onor ; and he was likewise persuaded, that the English troops were assembled for no other purpose than to protect the dominions of Mehemet Ali from insult.

Maffous Khan had lately been induced to take the part of Nizam Ali Khan, who had sent him presents of great value. He knew that the Suba of Decan was engaged in wars

with his vassals, in which he was assisted by a party of English, commanded by General Smith. He therefore concluded that he had nothing to fear on his part.

In order to secure himself from any interruption in the war he had projected, Ayder wrote to Mirza Ali Khan, governor of Scirra, and his brother-in-law, to renew the truce with the Marattas, which was on the point of expiring: a business not difficult to be performed, by means of a sum of money properly distributed among the chiefs.

The intended war, and the necessity of placing strong garrisons in the conquered country, obliged Ayder to make considerable levies for the augmentation of his army; and, being willing to derive every advantage from the time preceding that in which he intended to march against Ram Raja, he caused all his troops and his artillery to be exercised by the European officers, he himself assisting every day with his sons and generals at the different exercises and evolutions.

After consulting the commandant of Europeans, whose knowledge and intelligence he greatly valued and depended on, he established, by his advice, a corps of five thousand grenadiers,

nadiers, divided into battalions of five hundred men, composed of four companies of one hundred and twenty-five men each. Two of these battalions were selected out of the Topasses, and the rest from the Seapoys; each being commanded by an European officer. There was, besides, in each company, an European adjutant or serjeant-major. The officers and private men of every company were chosen by Ayder himself, who regarded tallness less than a martial air, and the activity and robust temperament of the individual.

These grenadiers received ten rupees a month, instead of eight, which is the pay of the other Seapoys. They were exempt from all works of labour, and even mounted no guard, except that of their commandant; and, that nothing might prevent their being ready to march at the first signal, every escouade, composed of seven men, including an inferior officer, were allowed a cook servant, and an ox to carry their tent and baggage. Every company was augmented by an escouade of seven men, destined solely to guard the baggage. These were as it were apprentices, being youths of about sixteen or seventeen years old, intended to replace the grenadiers who fell,

and to render the corps capable of affording great advantages by the rapidity of their motions. From the time of their first establishment, they were exercised every morning in handling their arms, by their own officers; and every afternoon, from three till six, five battalions, by turns, were exercised in their evolutions by the French commandant; after which they were made to march from six to eight, marching out at the ordinary pace, and returning home with a quick step.

All the officers, without exception, were obliged to do this exercise as well as the common soldiers. This constraint at first occasioned much murmuring among them, but luckily it did not come to the hearing of Ayder. However, whether through a sense of duty, or from example, they became accustomed to it, and their assiduity afforded great encouragement to the soldiers. It was thus that this sovereign formed a body of troops, to whose rapid movements the English afterwards attributed all his success.

The English had no sooner heard of Ayder's preparations, which fame had rendered still more considerable, than they conceived umbrage at them, as well as at the long stay he made

made at Coilmoutour, the capital of a small district or country adjoining to Madura, of which we have already made mention. In their uncertainty respecting his intentions, they resolved to dispatch his Ouaquil from Madras, a Bramin, named Menagi Bandec, to carry him a letter from the governor and council of that settlement. This letter announced a solemn embassy, composed of Colonel Call, chief engineer, and Counsellor Boschier, brother to the governor. Ayder being persuaded that they intended to make propositions to him, relative to Travancour and the coast of Malabar, contrary to his views and intentions, thought it necessary to elude the receiving the embassy. He immediately dispatched an answer to the letter of the council, assuring them that he was very much flattered with their letter, and thanking them for the honour they intended him in sending so distinguished an embassy; but at the same time he added, that Coilmoutour, being only a camp or military station, by no means proper for the reception of ambassadors with those honours they were entitled to expect, he could not decently receive the embassy till he should arrive at Syringpatnam, a royal city, to which he proposed to return

in a short time ; and that he would be careful to advise the governor of Madras of his arrival there.

Ayder was too well acquainted with the English politics to suffer himself to be seduced by the pompous honour with which they hoped to dazzle his sight ; and, far from being flattered with this embassy, he was determined no longer to defer his expedition against Travancour. The order was already given for the army to be in readiness to march, when an unforeseen event convinced him that he had more enemies than he suspected, who were anxiously intent upon his destruction.

There was an Irish officer in his army, named Turner, who had been admitted into his service by virtue of a letter of recommendation from Governor Boschier. He was a man of a strong understanding ; and who, possessing all the talents required in a good foldier, especially in the art of tactics, had in a very short time gained the affection of Ayder, who committed the most important operations to his care. This man, who was not in the slightest degree suspected, was commander of the first battalion of Topass grenadiers ; and, in this quality, he was regarded as general of that military,

litary, which forms a body of about five thousand men.

It must be allowed that an officer recommended by an English governor ought to have been treated with less confidence and security ; but this man had behaved so well in the war on the coast of Malabar, that, far from having any mistrust of him, he had acquired the confidence of his generals. Taking advantage of the good opinion they had of him, he waited till the time of payment, which is made the fifth day of every lunar month after the moon has appeared ; and when he had received his appointments, and the pay of his men, he made his escape by the road that leads towards Cochin.

His quarters were a short league distant from Coilmoutour. The officers of his corps waited on him to receive their pay ; but, under the captious pretence of his secretary being absent, he begged them to wait till the next day, which was without difficulty granted. To put his project in execution he mounted his horse, being accompanied by a young Swedish officer, to whom he had communicated his design, and disappeared, carrying every thing of value he possessed with him ; taking the precaution first

to acquaint his domestics that he was going to supper with the commandant-general at Coilmoutour.

The intensity of the heat in the day, and the beauty of the nights, in India, induce people of distinction to sit up very late, more especially as they have the custom of sleeping in the day from three till six. Some officers, who were in this habitude, called upon him, and were astonished to find he was gone to supper at Coilmoutour; but far from harbouring any suspicion, they concluded, on the contrary, that it was a gaming party, knowing him to be a great gamester. The night being fine, they resolved to take the advantage of it; and, thinking to surprise him agreeably, they mounted their horses, and repaired to the commandant's quarters at Coilmoutour, where they arrived about midnight. Their astonishment was highly increased, when they found every body in the most profound sleep. They enquired to no purpose for Turner, as no one could give any account of him; and the suspicion that consequently arose in their minds induced them to apply to the commandant himself. On their account of the absence of their officer, the commandant sent to enquire of the posts that

guarded the entrance of the passes, whether any one had passed them ; and was informed, that two European officers had departed three hours before. The first captain of Turner's corps, named Minerva, an Irishman, offered to pursue him instantly with a party of fifty Europeans : his offer was accepted, and he departed at two in the morning. At eight they had stretched over upwards of six leagues, and arrived at the frontier of the country of Cochin. They discovered the horses of the officers they were in quest of, and environed the house, in which they found them both asleep. They immediately secured their persons, and conducted them bound to Coilmoutour.

Ayder being informed of the escape of Turner and the Swedish officer, and of their recapture, gave orders to judge them as in a similar case in Europe. In consequence, a court martial was assembled, at which the two criminals were tried, and convicted of carrying off the public money : sentence was accordingly pronounced, that they should be degraded and hung, and their bodies afterwards exposed on the high road. The council, in compassion to
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the youth of the Swedish officer (who, according to all appearance, had been seduced by the other, and still more, because he carried away no property of any other, and was only culpable in having departed without leave) thought proper to intercede with the Nabob in his favour ; who commuted the punishment of death into that of imprisonment. As to Turner, he was conducted to the place of punishment, and there discovered to the council, that the English, conjointly with Nizam Ali Khan, intended to attack Ayder. He confessed that he was a spy employed by the government of Madras, and begged pardon of the sovereign for having so long abused his confidence ; that he should not have made his escape, if he had not lately been nominated major of a regiment on the Bombay establishment : he intreated his judges, in consideration of the importance of his discoveries, they would spare him the indignity of being hanged, and, as he deserved to die, would give orders for him to be shot : this request was allowed him. Before he suffered, he distributed all his money to the soldiers appointed to put him to death ; to the *Sieur Minerva* he gave his sword and watch. After
his

his death he was suspended on a tree near the road-side, conformably to the latter part of his sentence.

The discovery of the intentions of the English, caused the departure of the army for Travancour to be suspended. Ayder without delay caused Maffous Khan to repair to Ayder Abad, where he was charged to attempt, by the intrigues of his friends and his creatures about the Nabob, who were in great number (Bazaletzing, brother of the Subah, being the first) to avert the storm that threatened him from that court.

In the mean time he continued to exercise his troops, and train them to all kinds of evolutions. This spectacle, entirely new to the Indians, and the long stay of the sovereign of so many states in Coilmoutour, drew so great a concourse of people to that place, that their number amounted to more than 100,000, exclusive of the army, which exceeded 60,000 : but it will scarcely be credited, that this country is so abundant with all the necessaries of life, that a sheep or a dozen of fowls never cost more than two shillings ; and twelve measures of rice, one of which is sufficient to serve a man a day, were sold at the same price. The
immense

immense population of this country is proved by the two markets which are held weekly ; where, at each, is commonly sold twenty thousand pieces of silk, each fourteen cubits long*. This country, through which lies the ordinary passage from Mayssour and the coast of Coromandel, to the coast of Malabar, produces a considerable revenue to Ayder, who enjoys the tolls, to the exclusion of the Rajas of the country.

It is estimated, that thirty thousand oxen, loaded with tobacco, annually pass through Coilmoutour : this assertion is rendered very probable, by the numerous magazines of that commodity at Pondiagheri. Besides tobacco, there are great quantities of silks of every kind, and pepper, cardamom, ivory, &c. brought from the coast of Malabar.

During the long stay of Ayder at Coilmoutour, many events happened, which, though of no great importance, are yet sufficiently interesting to be related. They may serve not only to give the reader a more perfect

* The superior of the Jesuit missionaries, who resides at Xavier Paleam, one mile distant from Coilmoutour, has assured me, that he had ten thousand Christian weavers in his mission.

idea of the genius and character of Ayder, but likewise to throw light on the manners of the people, of whom the Nabob is become the sovereign. The first of these events is a process or suit at law, carried on against the missionary Jesuits of the dominions of Ayder.

The news of the expulsion of the self-named Jesuits from Portugal and France having arrived in India, a missionary of that order, a Portuguese by nation, and residing in Mayssour, quitted his cure in 1767, and retired to Goa; being determined, as he said, to shew himself a faithful subject of his king, by no longer continuing in a body of men declared to be enemies of his country. A year and a half after his departure, he wrote to a Portuguese lady, named Madam Mequinez, widow of a Portuguese officer, who had rendered signal services to Ayder, and was afterwards slain in a battle against the Marattas: Ayder, in return, had given his widow the regiment of Topasses her husband had possessed, with the appointment of colonel, till an adopted son of her husband's was of age to command the regiment himself.

This lady accompanied her regiment every where: the colours were carried to her house;

house ; and she had a private sentinel at the door. She received the pay, and caused the deductions to be made in her presence from each company. When the regiment was collected, she inspected them herself, as well as all the detachments that were ordered out ; but she permitted the second in command to exercise the troops, and lead them against the enemy.

This dame Mequinez having received the letter of the ex-jesuit father, addressed herself to the Bramin Narimrao, secretary at war, and much esteemed by Ayder. She complained that, during the life, and since the death of her husband, she had deposited in trust in the hands of the now ex-jesuit, all her jewels, and the money she and her husband could spare : that this father having departed to Goa, she, being in the army, wrote to him, and received for answer, that all the jewels and money she had deposited in his hand, were transferred, under the same title, into those of the provincial father resident at Xavier Paleam, to whom it was necessary for her to address herself for restitution : she added, that having carried this letter to the provincial father, he affirmed, she had lost her senses ;

senses ; and that he had never heard either of her money or her jewels : at the same time she placed in the hands of the secretary the letter received by her from Goa, together with a state of the jewels and money she reclaimed, amounting to a considerable sum. The Bramin acquainted Ayder with the particulars of this affair, and painted the Jesuits in the most odious colours, by reciting what had passed in France and Portugal concerning them.

On this complaint, Ayder immediately ordered a guard of four Seapoys and a corporal to every missionary found in his dominions, with orders not to lose sight of the reverend fathers ; but at the same time to permit them to perform their functions, as well in their missions as in their churches, without impeding them in the least ; but on the contrary, they were commanded to treat them with every mark of respect.

Ayder commanded this restraint to be laid upon them, because the complaint was made at the very time when the revolt of the Nayres demanded his presence on the coast of Malabar. On his return to Coilmoutour, and the Bramin Narimrao having renewed the widow's

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complaint,

complaint, he sent for the French commandant, of whose integrity and judgment he was well convinced : “ You are, doubtless,” said he, “ acquainted with the suit urged by the widow Mequinez against the Jesuits; and, as I wish the affair to be terminated by an equitable decision, I have fixed upon you to take cognizance of the same, and shall give you every necessary power to be her judge.” The officer answered, “ That not being a man of the law, he could not pretend to undertake the distribution of justice, for fear of erring through ignorance.” Ayder replied, “ Certainly you, who are yourself a Christian, must be better acquainted with the law * of the Christians than any judge in my dominions : and since my intention is, that every one shall be judged by his own law, you cannot avoid accepting this commission ; but I permit you, if it be necessary, to select, as assistants jointly with yourself, such officers of your nation and religion, as you think capable of seconding your

* Ayder, and all the Mahometans, believe that Jesus Christ, like Moses and Mahomet, has given laws to the Christians, which the judges are bound to follow in their decisions; and that Christian princes cannot evade them by contrary laws.

own endeavours." There was nothing could be objected to this offer. The French officer, after thanking Ayder for the honour of his good opinion, consented to perform his orders to the utmost of his power : and the day following, Madam Mequinez and the reverend provincial father, being informed of the Nabob's determination, did not fail to wait on the French officer as their judge.

The lady arrived apparently in the utmost distress. She lamented, with signs of great affliction, that poverty, to which, she affirmed, the perfidy of the Jesuits had reduced her, and against whom she vented numberless invectives : her oration was so specious that almost all the Europeans, especially the French, who were chiefly young men, were prejudiced in her favour, and were desirous that the Jesuits should be condemned to make restitution, and be burned, or at least hanged.

The provincial father was an Italian of about sixty years of age, of a commanding * and venerable

* The Jesuit missionaries in India, who reside in the country not subjected to Europeans, call themselves Bramin Christians : they wear a habit resembling that of the Bramins, having the triple cord and the slippers made without the skin of animals : they wear their

nerable aspect, though at the same time affable and mild. He praised God for inspiring the sovereign with the choice of such a judge as his heart had long desired. After this short prayer he entreated the French commandant (making at the same time the most humble apology to the other gentlemen present) that he would be pleased to grant him a private audience, that he might be able to explain the affair in all its particulars ; but which he could not do in public, because of certain persons who were involved in the business. The French officer made a sign for every one to retire ; and the reverend provincial father, being alone with him, expressed himself in these terms : “ You
“ must be sensible, Sir, that, even in the most
“ regular and holy societies, it is impossible to
“ prevent Judas’ from sometimes appearing ;
“ and he who now has drawn this unexpected
“ persecution on us, for the satisfactory termination of which we depend on you, may

beard, and live in the manner of the Bramins, never eating publicly any thing that has had life, and never going to the altar without first washing and purifying themselves. Virgins pour vessels of water on their heads, and afterwards, drying them, they put on the albe, the chasuble, and other sacerdotal habiliments. This provincial father, like the other missionaries of his order, resembled a Bramin.

“ justly

“ justly be called by that name. Before that
“ man determined to retire to Goa, there were
“ several scandalous stories came to my know-
“ ledge concerning him, that obliged me to
“ reprimand him; for, in this country, when
“ a man is once at the head of a mission, the
“ superior has no other right than that of re-
“ primanding him, for fear of a greater dis-
“ order. Being informed that my remon-
“ strances produced no effect, I thought it my
“ duty to watch over all his actions. I was
“ advised when he quitted his cure, and that
“ he had departed to Mangalor, in his way to
“ Goa. I followed him without delay, and
“ coming up with him before he embarked, I
“ easily obtained an order from the comman-
“ dant of Mangalor to prevent his quitting
“ the place before I had published, in all the
“ missions, that if any one had interests to
“ discuss with that father *, he should repair
“ to

* All the Christian women in India that are married to Europeans have the madness to hoard up a private sum or fund, which they entrust to their priests, under the seal of confession. It is to the honour of the missionaries, that there is no instance of any complaint of this trust having been abused. This custom is very ancient, and seems to have originated with the Portuguese. The monks, at all events, gain much money

“ to Mangalor : many persons repaired thither,
 “ and among them the dame Mequinez, who
 “ reclaimed two thousand rupees, a pair of
 “ bracelets of rubies, and a collar of pearls,
 “ which were returned to her ; as was ac-
 “ knowledged by an authentic act passed in the
 “ chancellory of the Portuguese factory at
 “ Mangalor, and witnessed by the signature of
 “ the French and Portuguese factors. Since
 “ the exhibition of the widow Mequinez’s
 “ complaint against us, I have applied to the
 “ chief and chancellor of the Portuguese fac-
 “ tory * for a copy of the act, which they have
 “ constantly refused.

“ To

by the practice, because there are scarcely any women that die, who previously acquaint their husbands or relations where they have placed sums in this manner.

* The Portuguese had a factory at Mangalor, on an eminence that commanded the river. In this factory they kept a small garrison of thirty Portuguese soldiers, commanded by a lieutenant, who was at the same time factor, and a kind of consul : this settlement had two pieces of cannon, and displayed Portuguese colours. The kings of Canara submitted to this, and the Portuguese levied a small duty, a toll on the entering or going out of the river of Mangalor, which they pretended to defend against invaders. When the English took Mangalor in 1768, the Portuguese had neither the inclination nor the power to defend the entrance of the river

against

“ To procure this deed, which is absolutely
 “ necessary for the right decision of the cause,
 “ it will be proper, Sir, for you to make use
 “ of the authority of the Nabob. The bearer
 “ of his order must be a Frenchman who can
 “ be depended on, and who must compel the
 “ Portuguese factor to exhibit the registers of
 “ his chancellorship, in spite of all the resist-
 “ ance he may make, on account of the honour
 “ of his flag and garrison. I must intreat you
 “ likewise, Sir, to conduct the business in such
 “ a manner as that the Bramin Narimrao may
 “ not be apprized of the order given to force
 “ the chief of the Portuguese settlement to com-
 “ municate his registers : for I have good rea-
 “ sons to suspect that this Bramin, whose ava-
 “ rice you are no stranger to, is interested in
 “ the plot, as well as the Portuguese chancellor
 “ and factor. The Bramin would not fail, in
 “ that case, to advise them of the intended or-
 “ der, and they would dispatch the registers to

against the English army. Ayder being desirous of
 constructing a citadel at Mangalor, in 1774, M. Catini,
 his engineer, found that the scite of the Portuguese
 factory was the properest for building a citadel capable
 of defending the entrance of the river ; and the Portu-
 guese were obliged to resign their factory.

“Goa. If you cannot clear up the affair by
“means of these registers, you may write to
“Mahé, to know who was the French gen-
“tleman who then resided at Mangalor *.
“You may then apply to him, and perhaps
“his memory will furnish you with means to
“do justice to the injured.”

The French officer, after having heard the recital of the provincial father, said, “Be at your ease, my reverend father; I will do my utmost to search your affair to the bottom, without giving any suspicion of the communication you have made.”

Madam Mequinez, impatient to know the result of the provincial father’s conference with the French commandant, hastened the next morning to wait upon him. There were then several French officers with him: he no sooner saw her, than he said, “Madam, the provincial father made his confession to me yesterday; you must now absolutely make yours.” The lady colonel, assured of the victory, consented with great readiness; and every body having re-

* There was not then, and perhaps never was, a French factory at Mangalor. The French gentleman, of whom the reverend father spoke, was some merchant who was casually there.

tired, he addressed her thus, “ How could you thoughtlessly precipitate yourself into the abyss you are fallen in? You enjoy a great revenue by the bounty of the Nabob; and you have presumed to impose on that prince, whom you know to be severely just: you are a Christian, and you have not scrupled to invent the most odious imposture, in hopes of enriching yourself by the plunder of the churches and altars, and with the intention of sharing your unjust demands with a Bramin and a Monk, whose wickedness you are well acquainted with. But it is in vain that you hope any longer to conceal your conspiracy. I am informed of every thing by the French gentleman who resided at Mangalor, and who will quickly arrive here, together with the chancellor of the Portuguese factory, who brings his registers, and is guarded by Seapoys. You have but a moment in your power to save yourself, by making a sincere declaration of the truth: for from this instant I will cause you to be arrested and guarded, without permission to speak to any one; and when your imposture shall be proved, you may expect that the Nabob will punish you as you deserve: but if, on the contrary, you make the con-

feſſion I demand, I will find means of terminating the affair without noiſe.” The woman, who now ſaw herſelf unmaſked, was almoſt dead at hearing a diſcourſe ſo unexpected ; and finiſhed by falling on her knees. She confeſſed the truth, and threw the blame on the Monk at Goa, and the Bramin, who had prompted her with this infamous contrivance. The officer raiſed her, with the aſſurance, that by her confeſſion ſhe had placed herſelf out of all danger : he then went out, and faſtened the door behind him ; but ſoon returned with two officers of known diſcretion, to whom he had communicated the particulars of what had paſſed : and the dame Mequinez, ſuppoſing them to be of the number of her judges, repeated before them every thing ſhe had before avowed to the commandant.

The provincial father being ſent for, and informed of the confeſſion of the widow, proſtrated himſelf on the earth, and then raiſing himſelf, returned thanks to God, that the truth was cleared up, and his brethren juſtified from the accuſation ſo maliciously urged againſt them. He nevertheleſs intreated the commandant to conceal the detail of the affair from the Nabob ; fearing, as he ſaid, the conſequences

sequences that might ensue to the widow ; but more probably wishing to avoid the enmity of the secretary Narimrao.

The officer having informed Ayder, that the affair was terminated, that prince was contented with saying, “ I am persuaded that the whole is an iniquitous contrivance of the widow Mequinez against the reverend fathers ; for I am informed, that her conduct is such, as, if she does not take care, will finish by bringing no small mortification upon herself *. However,” added he, “ since you and the reverend fathers forgive her, I shall say no more

* Ayder proposed to the Swedish officer, accomplice of Turner the Irishman, to espouse this lady colonel, as a condition upon which he would pardon and restore him to his former post. This young man, aged twenty-eight, but of a spirited disposition, absolutely rejected the offer ; saying, he would rather die than marry a woman who had prostituted herself to all the Topasses. His pardon, and permission to retire where he pleased, were the consequence of this answer. The lady colonel afterwards married a mongrel Portuguese serjeant ; but she was highly astonished, when the Bacfi sent for her to let her know that the Nabob had reduced her to serjeant’s pay, because she had dishonoured the name of her former husband, whose services had demanded that the woman who bore his name should not be without the means of subsisting reputably.

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of it." He immediately gave orders to remove the guard he had placed over the Jesuits. The good fathers were not, however, disposed to pardon the lady spiritually : she was excommunicated, and condemned to public penance ; to which, though it may seem astonishing, she submitted with much apparent resignation. The provincial father, in his letter, written to inform all the missions of the means by which his innocence was cleared up, spoke highly of the French officer ; who, he said, was in the highest favour with the Nabob. This eulogium produced a letter from the archbishop of Cochin, who recommended to him a Malabar priest, of the number of the Christians of St. Thomas, whose diocesan the archbishop was. He was deputed, together with three other laymen of his country, to request of Ayder the permission to keep fire-arms, under the pretence that, by not being armed, they ran the risk of being robbed by the Nayres and the soldiers of the Nabob. The officer, who imagined he might safely give credit to the archbishop's letter, was much surprised when Ayder said, he was no stranger to the antipathy that fomented their quarrel. " These people," said he, " have been disarmed, because
they

they assassinated each other, being always at enmity on account of their priests, who are of different casts : I shall take care to place safeguards in the country, to prevent my people from molesting them, and I shall send troops sufficient to disperse the Nayres."

These Christians of St. Thomas are of very ancient origin, being settled in India before the arrival of the Portuguese. It is demonstrated, that their St. Thomas was not the disciple of Jesus Christ. They are partly in subjection to the Pope, and partly under the patriarch of the Chaldeans, who resides at Merdin in Mesopotamia. This division causes them to detest each other ; and, profiting by the troubles of their country, they were mutually engaged in a cruel war, when Ayder caused them to be disarmed. The deputies who came to Coilmoutour were stout men, with a ferocious air and manner : they had the figure of a small cross above their nose punctured in the skin, and a large scar on the right cheek, caused by the recoil of their musquets. The archbishop, in his letter, offered to the commandant two young slaves, who, he said, he had himself educated, and were qualified to render services both of utility and pleasure, being instructed

structed in writing and in music. As he did not obtain his desire, he sent an inconsiderable present; with an excuse, that the young slaves, at the moment of their departure, had cried and wept so immoderately, that his feelings would not suffer him to part with them. To this present were added a vast number of benedictions, and a promise that he would write to the Pope, then Clement XIII.

The same officer was employed by Ayder in a law-suit between the French and English factors resident at Calicut. A merchant of that city had long been indebted to the French company; and having received a considerable quantity of wood from Ayder, the French factor agreed with him, that he should pay his debt in that commodity, which was much wanted at Pondicherry, or the entire rebuilding that town, lately destroyed by the English. The quantity sold to the French factor being arrived at Calicut, the English factor prevailed on the Raja of Coilmoutour to seize it, on pretence that the English company had a prior claim on the merchant: the Raja, who was gained by the English, adjudged, after hearing the parties, that the English factor should have the wood; which was accordingly

cordingly carried by him to his factory : but on the appeal that the French commandant made to the Nabob himself, the Raja ordered the affair to remain in its then state, till the decision of the sovereign was known. He wrote at the same time in favour of the English ; and the French factor, persuaded of the goodness of his cause, begged the commandant of Europeans to intercede in his favour. This officer having impartially informed Ayder of the difference between the factors, the Nabob made him this answer : “ Neither you nor I are sufficiently informed to decide on this affair, especially as our attention is required to things of more consequence : but, that justice may be done, I have written to the Raja of Coilmoutour, to put the decision into the hands of the chiefs of the Portuguese, Danish, and Dutch factors ; and whatever their judgment may be, to put it in execution.”

In pursuance of this order, the delegated judges decided in favour of the French ; but the English factor, to render the judgment illusory, caused all the wood to be sawed up, so that it was rendered unfit for any use, except to be burned : a piece of business that he could not have performed without the connivance of
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the Raja, whose duty it was to have placed a guard over the wood. The French factor, not being able to receive it in that state, wrote to the Nabob, informing him of this disgraceful manœuvre. On the account given by the French officer, Ayder immediately wrote to the Raja to repair to court with the utmost dispatch. The governor had no sooner received this order, than, suspecting the business, he sent for the English factor and the wood-merchant, and sent the latter to the French factory to offer payment of the sum due to the company. The French chief, bound to promote the welfare of his employers, could not refuse accepting a payment that was much more advantageous than the wood; and accordingly gave the merchant a discharge.

The Raja, furnished with this piece, departed to wait upon Ayder; who demanded, on seeing him, how the affair was terminated between the French and English? The Raja, without being disconcerted, answered with an affected laugh: "The English have lost their cause; but, as they had spoiled the wood without waiting for the judgment, I have forced them to pay the value in money; and the French have given the merchant an acquittance,

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quittance, which he has put into my hands." Ayder, who was not the dupe of his artifice, took this occasion to demand an account of the revenues and disbursements of the country he governed; and nominated commissioners to receive his accounts. Though the Raja did not seem abashed at the discourse of his sovereign, yet he retired extremely chagrined that his stratagem had been turned against himself. On inspecting his accounts, the committee condemned the governor to pay three or four lacs of rupees * to the Nabob. To obtain either time or a mitigation of part of the sum, he complained for some days of the rigour of this judgment; which he affirmed would ruin him, as he protested he was not possessed of so large a sum. On his refusal, Ayder placed guards about his palace, to prevent water from being brought him, because, as a Bramin, he was obliged to wash himself many times in the day. This step forced him to open a secret repository of treasure in the very palace in which Ayder

* The lac is one hundred thousand rupees. In turning rupees into sterling money, they are, in India, estimated at thirty pence, or half a crown each, tho' the average value of the coin does not exceed twenty-seven pence.

then resided, but which is the ordinary residence of the Raja.

A French surgeon, who had cured him of a secret disorder for the sum of one thousand rupees, half paid in hand, and the other half due, by a written promise to pay when the cure was completed, not being able to obtain the latter five hundred, though the cure had long been made, thought the present instant favourable to his desire of being paid. Ayder having heard his complaint, said, "Do as I did: let no water come into his house till you are paid." "But I have no soldiers," replied the surgeon. "But you have friends that have," answered the Nabob. Upon which advice the surgeon collected a number of French soldiers, by promising them a part of the sum: they took possession of the palace-gate; and the water-carriers not daring to approach, the surgeon received payment of his note, to the great diversion of Ayder, who, notwithstanding what had passed, did not remove the Raja from his government.

Ayder Ali, though in the midst of the most brilliant of courts, had become uneasy and thoughtful since the departure of Maffous Khan for Ayder Abad. This lord, after making the

utmost dispatch to arrive at the court of Nizam Dowla, Suba of Decan, had dispatched letters which removed the suspense of Ayder, and confirmed the intelligence given by the Irish officer. He sent word that the English, by means of the Divan * Rocum Dawla, had determined Nizam to carry the war into Mayssour ; that all the friends of Ayder had in vain attempted to dissuade him from the design ; and that, having given himself up entirely to the suggestions of his Divan, he had bestowed the command of his army on General Smith, who had brought a considerable corps of Europeans and Seapoys from Madras.

Upon the receipt of this authentic advice, Ayder determined to defer his expedition against Travancour till a more favourable opportunity, and to march to Syringapatnam, the capital of Mayssour, to be in readiness to meet his enemies. Ayder had been long absent from

* Rocum Dawla was brother-in-law to Mehemet Ali Khan, whom the English had made Nabob of Arcot. The title of Divan formerly signified the emperor's envoy, charged with the raising or receiving of the taxes and tributes ; but at present it signifies the Minister and keeper of the great seal of the Suba.

this kingdom, in which he first saw the light, and where his fortune first began to disclose itself. He was about to return, as one of the greatest sovereigns in India, to a kingdom he had left in the capacity of a subject; for the Dayvas, notwithstanding their great power, are only the first subjects of the king. It was the desire of Ayder to make his entrance with all the pomp and state his rank demanded, and his Savari was therefore very numerous and brilliant. His daily march was a kind of triumph.—The description we shall proceed to give will be so much the more agreeable to the reader, as it will convey an idea of the magnificence of the Asiatic processions.

Ayder left Coilmoutour with a fine army of about fifty thousand men; of which eighteen thousand were cavalry, extremely well mounted, twenty thousand Seapoys, and four thousand Topassies, with their uniforms.

Every day of the march the cavalry lined the right side of the road by which the Nabob and his attendants were to pass. The prince was saluted by all the officers and the standards. When all the elephants on which the great men were mounted had defiled before one corps
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of the cavalry, that corps turned about to the left, and rode full speed to take their place at the other end of the line. A company of hussars, and one of dragoons, which formed the whole of the European cavalry, took the post of honour, and were the first to salute the Nabob; after which they placed themselves at the head of the procession: they were preceded by fifty couriers, well clothed, and mounted on dromedaries. Next marched two elephants bearing the great standards of the Savari, being gold embroidery on a blue ground; one representing the sun, and the other the moon and stars. After the two elephants marched that which carries the great timbals, called the grand Tomtom: they continually sound during the time the Savari is in motion, and may be heard at the distance of more than a league; there is even something grand and majestic in the noise;—the orders of the general are communicated to all the army by means of these instruments. After this elephant came four others, carrying the music of the Savari, consisting of small timbals, hautbois, flutes, and trumpets, the performers being thirty-two in number. Five elephants, called elephants of war, succeeded the four:

they carry towers, or a kind of octagon chair, on their backs, which are bound with iron, and strongly fixed to the saddle of the elephant by straps and iron chains. In each of these chairs are six warriors, armed from head to foot in armour which is musquet-proof; their offensive arms being fusils, and a species of blunderbuss of a very large conical bore, that discharge a whole handful of balls at once. One of these elephants is intended for the Nabob, but he never makes use of it in any battle.

The procession of elephants was succeeded by two companies of Caffres or Abyssinian horse. The men were completely armed, one company having their arms polished, and the other bronzed, and both had large plumes of red and black ostrich feathers on their helmets, which hung down their backs to the horses crupper: they bore lances, the steel work of which was highly polished; and the harness of their horses was red, with black silk fringes. The cavalry was followed by a number of men on foot, habited like Caleros; that is to say, almost naked, with large silk scarfs, and close drawers, reaching to the middle of the thigh: they carried long lances,

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ornamented with ostrich feathers and small bells, that were made to sound by the motion of their march. The Caleros were succeeded by a body of men carrying small banners, or flags of a red ground, with flames of silver.

The lance-bearers usually follow the prince to the chace : they are habituated to traverse the mountains and forests : the bearers of small standards are sent as safeguards to towns, villages, and castles : the appearance of these colours is sufficient to prevent the soldiery from entering any place ; but the magistrates must attend at the gates or barriers, to furnish the army, upon payment, with every thing they may want.

After this crowd of people on foot came the *Baras à demi*, or nobility following the court, marching as they pleased, in order, though without distinction of rank ; generals, bahaders, and even princes, marched indiscriminately with simple volunteers. Nothing could be more brilliant than this troop : they were armed from head to foot, and mounted on the most beautiful horses : their arms were damasked and encrusted with gold and silver ; many had their casques orna-

mented with white feathers, formed of pearls and precious stones; and great numbers had coats of mail, gilt and enamelled: the bridles of their horses were enriched with pearls and other valuable stones, and with plumes of feathers. The number of this troop varied every day, they being volunteers; but it was usually about six hundred. They all had *astagueris* *, variously enriched.

The nobility were succeeded by eight esquires or huntsmen of the Nabob, mounted on superb horses, and followed by twelve grooms on foot, each leading one of the Nabob's horses, richly harnessed: the first of these horses was a present from the general of the Marattas to Ayder, and was extremely singular: he was of a mouse-grey colour, with a white mane as brilliant as silver, and so thick and long, that it reached to the ground; it was tied together with a ribband; his tail was answerable in beauty to his mane: but the most remarkable circumstance was, that he had a natural covering of a clear bay colour, which

* The *astagueri* is a parasol, not horizontal but perpendicular, formed of a rich stuff, embroidered with gold or silver. It is carried by men on foot at the end of a long staff, painted and gilt.

depended as low as his mid-thigh, and which commencing at the withers, finished at a small distance from the crupper : on this mantle flowers were artificially painted ; so that, tho' the horse was absolutely naked, it was necessary to be very near him, in order to perceive that he was not covered with a cloth of some kind.

After the led horses followed a troop of running footmen, with black slaves headed with gold, who were succeeded by twelve ushers or Sauquedars on horseback, carrying silver maces with small crowns at top. After these came the grand officers of the household, as the steward, the chief usher, the sword-bearer, &c. they had each a large collar or chain of gold depending on their breast, as marks of their dignity. These officers preceded the grand almoner or Perjada, who marched alone, mounted on an elephant covered with green. He was immediately before the Nabob himself, who rode on the white elephant of the queen of Canara, an animal formerly worshipped as an idol, but now in a state of slavery, having large silver rings on his feet, with chains of the same metal. This elephant, which is said to be equal in value to a thousand others, was far superior to

them in height and magnitude: he was covered with yellow, a colour much affected by the emperor and the Subas. The pavilion in which the Nabob sat was covered with stuff of the same colour, and had no other ornament than four small globes of silver; except that on each side, by silver chains, hung small hatchets or axes, such as the Samorin has carried before him. It is the custom of the Indians to assume the marks of honour of those they have vanquished. The elephant bore on his head a kind of buckler of silver gilt, that represented a sun: he was led by two conductors, the one ranked as captain of horse in the Nabob's guard, and the other was his usual keeper. In a small pavilion behind the Nabob was a valet, to supply him with betel; and on each side an attendant stood upright on the foot-step, holding by the pavilion with one hand, and having in the other a large instrument to disperse the flies, made of white peacocks feathers, which he caused to move circularly, and produced a singular effect at a distance. About two hundred elephants followed that of the Nabob, two and two: they were rode by only three persons, the master, the conductor, and an attendant in the small pavilion. The coverings and pavilions of these

these elephants were very different in colour and magnificence : some were bordered with gold and silver lace : many of the pavilions were wrought silver ; and there were some even enriched with precious stones, as were those of the son of Ayder, and some others. The young prince was on the left of his father, and Raza Saeb on his right, but their elephants were not more than half the size of that of the Nabob.

After all the elephants in procession, came what are in India called the honours, borne by five elephants. The first carried a mosque of gold or silver gilt, and of exquisite workmanship, covered with white sattin, that was taken off when the procession came near any town or city ; the second carried, at the extremity of a red staff, the head of a fish, whose scales were formed of jewels and enamel, and a long horse's tail depended from the same ; the third carried a large flambeau of white wax in a chandelier of gold, or silver gilt ; the fourth bore two small pots of gold, called chambou, at the end of a large red staff ; and, lastly, the fifth elephant carried a kind of round chair without a canopy, covered on the outside with ivory inlaid, and ornamented with gold *. Af-

* All these honours are allegorical, and expressive of the virtues a sovereign ought to possess.

ter the honours followed two companies of Abyssinians on horseback like the two first ; and the procession was closed by two hundred Caffres on foot, clothed in scarlet, with silver collars, and armed with lances varnished black, and interspersed with silver gilding : all the train was inclosed between a double rank of men on foot, clothed in white silk, having lances in their hands about fourteen feet long, varnished black, and adorned with plates of silver, at the armed ends of which were small red streamers with silver flames : the lance-men marched at such a distance from each other as to inclose the whole by joining their lances.

This grand procession, on its march in the plain, had the most superb and striking effect.

Ayder was every where received with the most lively expressions of joy ; the highest honours were rendered him, and the people crowded to see him, while their acclamations, of “ Long live Ayder ! ” were incessantly reiterated. Every village, town, and city, was ornamented ; triumphal arcs, and other edifices, were erected in various places, according to the riches of the inhabitants ; the houses, and even the walls, of towns and fortresses were painted, or at least new white-washed ; governors, commandants, and other great men, came out in state with
their

their retinues, preceded by musicians, singers, and dancers, known by the name of Bayaderes, to meet the sovereign ; flowers and sweet water were dispersed in his passage, and the cannon were heard in all parts of the country. It was in this triumphant march that he met his brother-in-law, Moctum Ali Khan, at the distance of about a league from Syringpatnam. This potentate was at the head of a numerous retinue mounted on elephants, and marched before Ayder to the island, where tents were magnificently dressed out near the city walls : all the army encamped on the island, and the situation of the camp brought to every one's recollection the great danger Ayder had avoided in the time of Canero at the same place.

Ayder came into Mayssour without any fear of the events that might arise in the war he supposed himself to be engaged in with the Suba of Decan : he perfectly knew the indolent and enervated character of that prince, and had no apprehensions from his army, which was defective in the essential articles of discipline, arms, and pay, and whose chiefs, being proprietors of their own troops, were his friends and partisans. From this last circumstance he was assured that General Smith could make no movements without

without his receiving advice of them. As he was abused by Mirza, his brother-in-law, who every day gave him reason to think the truce with the Marattas would be soon renewed, he went forward with chearfulness, and in spirits ; and arrived at Syringpatnam with the conviction that he could easily parry every attempt of his enemies. But his astonishment was extreme, when Moctum Ali Khan informed him that there was reason to suspect the fidelity of Mirza Ali Khan ; since he had learned that the army of the Marattas, to the number of 150,000 men, was on its march from Poni, with the young prince Madurao*, Nana of the Marattas, at their head, who was then beginning his first campaign ; his march being directed towards Scirra, as Mirza could not but know, since he had envoys at Madurao's court.

* Madurao was the son of Balagirao, a Bramin, who had rendered the post of general of the Marattas hereditary in his family. This young prince was then no more than eighteen years old, and possessed the most uncommon share of virtue and ability : his uncle Raguba caused him to be assassinated. Nana signifies father : it is a name of honour given to Balagirao by the Marattas, which now serves as a title to his descendants. The general being called Nana, the king has no authority, and only acts, like that of Mayssour, in the ceremonies of religion.

To conceive the trouble and astonishment of Ayder at this news, it will be sufficient to know, that Mirza Ali Khan, his brother-in-law and cousin, was the most beloved by him of all his relations : he had educated him himself ; and the young lord, endued with the most estimable qualities, had always appeared full of gratitude and tender attachment. The great confidence Ayder had reposed in his virtues induced him to think that he could not, in spite of his youth, place the important government of Scirra in better hands. The only precaution he took was that which he commonly used with all his governors, namely, to give him a minister, or principal secretary, whose fidelity he could depend on ; and who had orders to give an accurate account of the conduct of his brother-in-law.

This man, who, like most courtiers, had concealed his ambition, and the bad principles that actuated him, conceived the hope of making his fortune by means of Mirza. He undertook to gain the confidence of the young prince by flattery, and by condescending to all his wishes, or, in other words, to all his weaknesses.

Mirza

Mirza was young, generous, and addicted to pleasure, and dissipated the revenues of his government in his amusements, instead of reserving a part, according to the orders of Ayder. The Bramin, his secretary, so far from advising the Nabob, as he had engaged to do, or at least remonstrating to his young master, flattered him that he would have time to arrange his accounts, in case Ayder should demand them, and to amass a sum sufficient to cover the deficiency, before the Nabob, then engaged in the war on the coast of Malabar, would think of visiting Scirra. Mirza suffered himself to be persuaded by the adulation of his secretary; and, continuing his imprudent extravagance, reduced the finances of his government to the utmost disorder.

Ayder, who thought it proper to keep his brother-in-law in some fear, and concealed his project of making war on Travancour, wrote to Mirza, giving him commission to renew the truce with the Marattas; and at the same time acquainted him of his intention to repair to Syringpatnam at the end of the year, and afterwards to Scirra. He likewise gave orders to take, out of the money in reserve at
Scirra,

Scirra, a sum sufficient to obtain the renewal of the truce with the Marattas.

This letter, sufficiently perplexing to Mirza in every particular of its contents, gave him much anxiety and trouble : but the Bramin, finding the occasion favourable for averting the storm that threatened him still more than his master, addressed him thus : “ If you have skill to seize the opportunity that Ayder presents to you, you will not only be out of all embarrassment, but may become an independent sovereign. Send me among the Marattas, under the pretence, and with a commission to renew the truce, and I will treat with Madurao, and the national council, in such a manner, that they will with pleasure acknowledge you sovereign of the country you command ; and for a small tribute they will engage to defend you, as they desire nothing more than to diminish the power of Ayder, who has taken this very country from them.”

The insinuations of the Bramin, ambition, the pleasure of being independent, the fear of Ayder’s arrival, and perhaps, more than any thing else, that false shame which prevents young people from recanting an error, determined this prince to betray his trust. He suffered

ferred the Bramin to depart, giving him a commission to treat with the Marattas as he thought proper. This faithless minister found the Marattas very much disposed to listen to him. There was an English envoy at Poni*, who proposed to them to attack Ayder, at the same time that Nizam and the English attacked him on their side. The arrival of the envoy determined the grand national council to make war on the Nabob; but Madurao, though very young, possessed courage and greatness of soul, and would not consent to form any alliance with a traitor. “I will not,” said he, “consent to make war upon Ayder, unless he refuses to pay the Chotay†; and,

* Poni is the second capital of the Maratta country, the residence of the general and the national council, and the place where the army annually assembles.

† The Chotay is the seventh part of the revenue of the Subaship of Decan and its dependencies, which Aurengzebe granted to the Marattas. It is not regularly paid; but the Marattas raise contributions in consequence of their claim, which are regulated according to their power, and the riches of the state that pays them. Ayder, who possesses considerable tracts of country, as Mayssour, &c. that owe the Chotay, in virtue of Aurengzebe’s gift, has never submitted to
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and, in that case, the Maratta army will be sufficient to compel him, without requiring an alliance with any one, much less with a traitor." In spite of the generous sentiments of this young prince, it was not in his power to determine the general council; and he was obliged to conform to their decision.

The very day following that on which Moctum had apprized him of the infidelity of Mirza, Ayder received news of the arrival of the Marattas into the country of Scirra. It was in the highest degree afflicting to him, when he heard that his brother-in-law, to complete his ingratitude, had joined his enemies with the very army that was intrusted to his charge; and that he had engaged to ad-

this payment; insisting, that no one has any right to compel the people to pay any tax or tribute, except for the good of the state, or by the right obtained by superior strength; that the Marattas being in this last case, he owed them nothing, because God had made him powerful enough to defend his subjects against them. He has therefore never made peace with that nation, but only truces for three years, sometimes by paying them a sum of money, and sometimes without paying any thing, according to the fortune of war. It is certain that, in the treaties made between these powers, the Chotay is never mentioned.

mit the Marattas into Scirra, and every other fortrefs in his government.

An event fo totally unexpected overthrew all the projects Ayder had formed, and reduced him to the moft difficult plan of defence. For though, upon the falfe advice of Mirza, he had fupposed the Marattas were ready to renew the truce, yet he had concluded that, at all events, he fhould have time to meet them on the other fide of Scirra ; and, by joining his army to that of Mirza, he might give them battle, with Scirra, and the other ftrong places of that government, behind him, to which he might retire, if neceffary : an event he hoped to fee decided before Nizam Daulla could arrive with his army on the frontier of Benguelour, where of neceffity he muft make his firft attack on him. But his dominions being laid open by the treason of Mirza, he could neither meet the Marattas, nor the combined armies of the Suba and the Englifh ; but was forced to wait for them under the cannon of Syringpatnam, the capital of Mayflour : for the country between that city and Scirra being a plain, without one good fortrefs, and his army much inferior to the Marattas in cavalry, he muft have fought

to

to a great disadvantage, as he must have run the risk of a total defeat, without being able to secure his country from pillage. The numerous Maratta cavalry, habituated to make incursions, and to subsist on the straw that covers the houses, would infallibly spread themselves over all Mayssour, and might cut off his communication with the magazines of Syringpatnam, and the mountains in its vicinity, which were the only resource to support his army; and again, the army of Nizam would probably hasten its march, on hearing of the operations of the Marattas: of which concatenation of circumstances, the probable result would be, that, finding himself between two armies, he might be forced to retire into Canara, and abandon Syringpatnam, and the kingdom of Mayssour, to his enemies.

The genius of Ayder, vast and fertile in resources, seems to have been formed to shine in critical and embarrassing situations of this nature. He immediately determined on a plan of action: he divided all his army into small parties, and dispersed them over all the country, with orders to all the chiefs to command and oblige all the inhabitants, as well of the country, as of the cities, towns, villages, and

fortresses, to abandon their dwellings, and retire to Syringpatnam, bringing with them all their property of any kind whatsoever. The troops were ordered, at the same time, to lay the whole country waste, without sparing anything but the trees; and to burn all forages, even to the straw that covered the houses. To facilitate the devastation, and the transport of goods, all the sutlers, valets, and other dependants on the army, were permitted to share the universal pillage; and they went forth on this expedition, attended by every beast of burthen belonging to the army or the city.

It is scarcely possible to form an idea of the promptitude with which this extraordinary order was carried into execution; and in how short a time one of the finest and most beautiful countries in the world was changed into a desert, for thirty leagues round Syringpatnam. It is difficult to determine who were the readiest to shew their obedience, the inhabitants or the army: the former abandoned their houses, leaving nothing they could carry away, and they were succeeded by the troops, one party after another, who finished, by leaving absolutely nothing. Horsemen and soldiers
were

were continually arriving at Syringpatnam, carrying corn, rice, maize, and even wooden beds and earthen pots, no one chusing to return empty-handed: and, what may seem still more surprizing, all the inhabitants arrived chearful and contented, some carrying their children, others their sick and infirm; the number of whom, in this happy climate, is always very small. As soon as any troop of people arrived, they were paid immediately the value of their effects, at so advantageous a price, that no dispute ever arose on the subject; and afterwards they were dispatched to an allotted part of the neighbouring mountains, where they were allowed a sufficient quantity of rice and other necessaries, at a price much below that which was given for what they sold at Syringpatnam *.

To

* The moderate price of provisions in the vallies, where these inhabitants of the plain went to dwell for a time, ought not to be a matter of wonder, when the abundance at Coilmoutour is reflected on, and it is considered, that in the warm climates nothing is required on the earth but water, to insure good harvests. The rains are the most abundant in the mountainous countries, and the Indians have made vast batons at the feet of the mountains, which preserve great quantities of water, more than sufficient for all the purposes of agriculture.

To remove the surprize, that a whole people chearfully abandoning their habitations must occasion, we only need observe, that all the lands are the property of the fovereign, the cultivator being no more than an annual tenant. The Indians of this country, even those who dwell in towns, have no other furniture than a bedstead, without covering or tester, whose bottom is composed of withy, and the bed-clothes of the richest is no more than a carpet; a few chests of pasteboard to inclose their linen, some mats, and utensils of pottery, without tables or chairs, whose use is unknown to them, as well as three-fourths of the moveables which the Europeans employ; and, as their houses are built of brick or earth, with very little wood-work, all the damage that the most merciless enemy can do, is quickly repaired.

While the troops were employed in laying the country waste, the utmost diligence was used in completing the fortifications of the camp, which, on the left, terminated against

culture. Ayder, instead of receiving his revenues in money, like the other Indian princes, receives them in provisions; which he disposes of as well to his own advantage as that of his people.

the

the city ramparts, and on the right at a redoubt situated at the extremity of the canal, that, with the river Caveri, forms the island on which the city is built. By this position, the back part of the camp was secured from every attack by the canal, which is very broad and deep, with steep banks : the front of the camp was defended by nine large redoubts, mounting twenty-four, thirty-three, and thirty-six pounders, that commanded the whole plain. About 300 toises before these, on the banks of the river, were seven other redoubts, flanking those before mentioned, each mounting six or eight pieces of cannon, and served by five hundred men. All these redoubts had ditches before them, planted with pallisades; and, as the river was every where fordable, and hard at bottom, twenty thousand coltrots were forged, to be laid as soon as the enemy appeared disposed to the attack. About one hundred pieces of cannon from the town ramparts, and fifty that were in a fortified pagoda situated on a very steep hill on the other side of the river, opposite the part of the island farthest from the city, would have flanked those who might be disposed to attack the first line of redoubts; and the same artillery would have rendered

the attack of the second line still more difficult.

In this camp, defended by three hundred pieces of cannon, it was, that Ayder waited the approach of his enemies; and, as his cavalry would have been of no use to him, he divided it into two parties; the principal of which was given to Moctum, who was sent to meet Nizam in the country of Benguelour, where he made the same devastation as had been made in the plains near Syringpatnam. As that country is interspersed with woods and mountains, and contains many very defensible fortresses, it was not so entirely abandoned: this circumstance furnished Moctum with better opportunities of harassing the army of Nizam, and carrying off the foragers, who were of necessity much spread abroad on account of the waste situation of the country.

The command of the rest of the cavalry, a small body of infantry, and all the irregular troops, was given to * Mirr Fesoulla Khan,

* Mirr Fesoulla Khan, is a Mogol nobleman of a very ancient house. All his family is attached to Ayder. His brother was Bacsi, or minister of war: he is a man of a very handsome figure and appearance,
as

Khan, ancient Nabob or prince of Colar, and principal general of Ayder, with orders to repair to the kingdom of Bijnagar, and defend the passes in the mountains which separate that kingdom from Canara, and to prevent the Marattas from penetrating, by joining his force to the military establishment of that country. He had instructions to assist Bassapatnam, the capital of Bijnagar, if the Marattas should attack it, and to harass the rear of their army, if they should advance towards Syringpatnam.

While Ayder was busied in these preparations, to which he was compelled by one of the most critical situations it is possible for a great monarch to find himself in, he rode out every day on horseback, without many attendants, and affected to shew himself often to the army and citizens. His countenance

as fair as an European, very intelligent, of a most amiable and generous character, but more inclined to expence than his fortune allows : he would be an extremely proper person to be sent on an embassy to Europe. Ayder has a great regard and esteem for him ; and his prodigality is one of the qualities that have procured him the confidence of that Nabob, who, like Cesar, is of opinion, *that they who love mirth and pleasure, are not the men who engage in conspiracies.*

was

was not then enlivened with that gaiety that usually distinguishes him, because his mind was occupied with the danger that threatened him, and he has not acquired the habit of disguising his thoughts ; on the contrary, a kind of mild languor or sadness appeared in his looks, that would have interested even his enemies in his misfortunes : his tent was open at all times, and he never was easier of access than at this juncture.

Though every kind of assembly and amusement was forbade, he instructed his generals concerning the means he thought proper to use in his defence, with an air and manner not in the least expressive of embarrassment.

The Europeans of his army, who interested themselves with an anxious eagerness in the success of the prince, were impatient to know the post he would assign to them, in case of an attack ; for Ayder did not make public his order of battle, and caused the guards of every post to be changed daily, though, according to the news, the enemy was on the point of arriving. To satisfy their impatience, their commandant, with two other officers, waited upon Ayder, and acquainted him that, as he had always conferred upon the Europeans the honour of the
most

most important post, they were come to request that he would put the defence of the first line of redoubts into their hands *. The prince immediately answered, “ I had already determined to appoint you to the post you request; and the demand you make, on an occasion when my enemies are innumerable, is so much the more agreeable to me, as it is a new mark of your affection : take the command, plant your colours † in the center redoubt ; and you may be assured of being powerfully seconded, for I myself will command the second line, and engage to send you the necessary succours. I am very much oppressed with the treason of Mirza, whom I have always treated as my favourite child ; and I have had no reason to expect so numerous a combination of enemies ; who, so far from being provoked, have been loaded by me with benefits : but, notwithstanding their

* The Topasses, commanded by European officers, were esteemed of this number, and the hussars and dragoons also served in defence of the redoubts.

† We have already observed, that all the commandant generals have a set of colours before their tent ; that of the European commandant was distinguished by a cannon with a ball in its chase, which denoted his post as chief of the artillery, and two streamers above, as marks of his degrees in the cavalry and infantry.

number,

number, I do not despair. “ It is the power
“ of God that has raised me, and I possess no-
“ thing but thro’ him : as long as he sup-
“ ports me, I shall look down on my enemies ;
“ and if he should forsake me, I must submit
“ with resignation to his pleasure.”

The fidelity of the commandants of the fortresses of Mark Scirra and Maggheri, gave Ayder all the time his preparations required ; for these officers, when they learned that the governor general had joined his army to that of the Marrattas under Madurao, refused to obey him : but the general, desirous of possessing the whole country, thought proper to besiege these places, which held out longer than was expected, particularly the fortress of Maggheri, into which a battalion of grenadier Seapoys had thrown themselves voluntarily, simply on the requisition of the governor of the place, while they were employed in laying the country waste : they made a journey of fourteen leagues without once stopping, for fear * of being too late.

* Their commandant was the same Cedra Khan whom the English affirmed they had taken prisoner near Tillichery : they said he was brother-in-law to Ayder, but he is only brother to one of the women of the seraglio : there is as much difference between him and
a bro-

late. When the fortrefs had capitulated, Madurao was defirous of feeing thofe grenadiers, whose formation had made fo much noife in India : he was aftonifhed to find thefe brave troops dirty and ill equipped. “ I am furprifed,” faid he, “ that fo powerful a prince as your mafter pays fo little attention to fuch brave men.” Their commandant replied, “ Defirous of the honour of fighting againft you, we haftened away without any neceffaries but the clothes on our backs ; and we have marched a day and a night without eating or drinking.” “ I am charmed at your fpirit,” returned Madurao, “ and fhould be concerned that your mafter, who fent you out well clothed, fhould fee you return in fuch a ftate ; ” and immediately ordered them two complete changes of clothes ; adding *, that “ tho’ the terms of the capitula-

a brother of one of the king’s wives, as there is in Europe between a prince of the blood and a relation of the king’s miftrefs. All the relations of a fervant (which is the title given to the Nabob’s women) are his fervants, and in that quality never fit in his prefence, nor in that of his fons or brothers, whatever may be their military rank ; though all other officers, as low as captains of cavalry, have that indulgence.

* In the Indian capitulations the garifons are never made prifoners of war ; but all the arms, colours, and ammunition, belong to the victors, and the baggage of individuals is fpared.

tion require you to leave your arms and your colours, yet I return your colours as a mark of esteem for your master, and a recompence due to your valour." Thus it was that war was carried on by men we are so ready to think barbarous.

After thus displaying the merit of the Indians, it would be unjust to pass over in silence the spirited action of one hundred European cannoniers of different nations. They had marched, like the others, against the Marattas, supposing they were to fight them; but when they saw Mirza joined his army to theirs, they perceived the perfidy of the governor; and, repairing to their general, "Do you imagine," said one of their officers, "that we will fight against Ayder, whose pay we have so long received? No, our intention is to fight for him, and not against him. Adieu." At the same time they departed, leaving all their baggage, having no other arms but their sabres, because the cannoniers in Ayder's army do no other service than that of the artillery. They arrived at Ayder's camp, without having found any opposition; for Mirza, no doubt ashamed of his treason, gave orders not to oppose their departure. Ayder received them with great pleasure,

and gave the officers bracelets of gold, called *manilles*, and money to the soldiers, paying them likewise the value of their baggage, upon their own estimation : this daring act of fidelity was perhaps the effect of the disgrace inflicted on the Europeans who adhered to Canero.

General Smith and Rocum Dawla were soon advised of the junction of Mirza with the Marattas, and announced it to Nizam as a certain preface of the ruin of Ayder. This news frustrated all the efforts and intrigues of Ayder's friends in the court of that Suba ; and perhaps those very friends, convinced that his ruin was inevitable, might grow cool to his interests. The Suba being always in want of money to support his expensive pleasures, General Smith found it not difficult to persuade him to hasten his march, without stopping to make any siege, lest the Marattas should take Syringpatnam, and seize the greatest part of the spoils. This forced march, and the time consumed by Madurao in his two sieges, were the causes that both armies arrived together near Cenapatnam, about seven leagues from Syringpatnam.

The absolute solitude and desert face of the country, which the enemies perceived in their approach

approach to the capital of Mayssour ; the daily loss of their foraging parties, attacked by different bodies of Ayder's horse ; and the impossibility of obtaining any advice concerning the situation and force of Ayder's army, gave the different chiefs of the armies to understand that the brilliant hopes they had indulged, of sharing the dominions and treasures of Ayder, were not likely to be realized.

As soon as the two armies were joined, different corps of horse appeared in the plain of Syringpatnam. Many advanced so near as to reconnoitre the town, and the redoubts in which Ayders colours were displayed : as they met with no interruption from Ayder, they rode about the plain, and viewed every thing at their ease. The same ceremony was performed the following day ; but on the third, at nine in the morning, the plain was covered with the cavalry of both armies, with the chiefs at their head on their elephants : this cavalry was followed by a body of infantry, who brought forward about fifty large cannon, that arrived about noon. The view was grand and striking : the number of horses was above one hundred thousand ; and there were more than two hundred elephants.

General

General Smith, at the head of a large body of cavalry, among whom were distinguished various chiefs, though neither Nizam nor Madurao were seen, advanced to reconnoitre the camp. When this cavalry appeared disposed to advance no farther, a signal was given from the redoubt in which Ayder was, and the fire poured at once from all the redoubts, from the fortrefs at the head of the bridge *, and from the mountain: this last did no great mischief, but terrified Nizam and his army, and convinced General Smith that the project of attacking Ayder in his camp was impracticable, especially for an army whose chief strength lay in cavalry. Towards the evening they who commanded this vast multitude of men, retired, together with their foldiers, in much disorder, to their respective camps.

The following day, a council was held with Nizam, at which the chiefs of both armies

* This fortrefs is situated in a bend of the river. It is a good Indian fortification, to which Ayder has added a glacis and covered way, planted with pallisades. The chief difficulty of the attack arises from the figure of the place, which, forming a crescent, would enfilade the trench of the enemy.

assisted. Every one being desirous of putting his own opinion in practice, no determination was settled on, though General Smith gave the only good advice ; which was, to separate the two armies, and make feints to draw Ayder out of his camp ; but, notwithstanding the propriety of this idea, every one was dissatisfied with it, because it shewed too plainly, that their elevated expectations were ill-founded, and required great abatements to reduce them to probability.

The Maratta chiefs having returned to their camp, no more councils were held ; but the two camps remained in the same situation, many messengers passing between them. The Marattas traversed the country, as well as different corps of Nizam's army : they frequently met the cavalry of Ayder, which almost always had the advantage ; Moctum, especially, who is an excellent officer, had the most decided success. Forages every day became more scarce, and the capture of the foragers, of horses, elephants, camels, and oxen, continued to such a degree, that they at last could not be sold at Benguelour at any rate. At length the provisions of rice brought by the merchants were exhausted, and the price
of

of this indispensable article, as well as of every other necessary, increased every day. Ayder, who was informed of every thing as it happened, remained at his ease in his camp, where every thing was in such great abundance, that subsistence cost scarcely any thing. The inhabitants, supposing every thing would fetch a great price, had laid in vast stores; every soldier had a hole in the earth near his tent, filled with rice; the river afforded fish in abundance; and every kind of country provisions came from the mountains and valleys in the night, attended by a numerous escort of infantry, after four hours travel through a road intersected by hedges and ditches, where the cavalry would have had no opportunity of shining.

The Marattas, under the pretence of being nearer to the forages, withdrew from Cenapatnam, and encamped on the Caveri, at five leagues from Syringpatnam. It appears, that they must have conferred with Ayder previous to the movement; for two days after the change of their camp the truce was concluded on; and on receiving six lacks of rupees in hand, and six payable in six months, they engaged to retire out of his country, and to

restore Scirra : but the rest of the district intrusted to Mirza was abandoned to them, and they suffered that governor to remain in possession of it, on the condition of paying a small tribute ; for the security of which they retained the fortress of Maggheri : the money was no sooner counted, than the Marattas raised their camp, and departed, taking the road to Scirra.

This news gave the alarm in the camp of Nizam, and that sovereign, more alarmed than the rest, was exceedingly embarrassed. Ayder, who knew his character, and judged it a proper occasion to impress him with still more terror, recalled his army from the kingdom of Bijnagar, marched his troops out of the island, and encamped in the plain on the road to Cenapatnam. This manœuvre produced its whole effect on the timid and enervated prince, and disposed him to listen to the suggestions of Bazaletzing, his brother, Maffous Khan, and other friends of Ayder : and there is no doubt, but he would have proceeded in direct opposition to his Divan, if that minister, seeing the impossibility of encouraging his master, had not been the first to give him the direct advice to treat with Ayder ; and offered

offered to undertake the negociation himself, as a business that he was confident might be concluded with the greatest facility. To remove General Smith, and the greatest part of the English forces, he informed that commander, that since, in the present situation of things, provisions and succours could only be had from the country of Arcot, it was necessary that the English should get possession of certain places belonging to Ayder, to secure a free passage for the convoys that might be sent from Madras and the other places dependent on the English and Mehemet Ali.

The English general had not been blind to the disposition that prevailed of treating with Ayder ; but he was happy at an opportunity of approaching his frontiers, to place himself out of the reach of the perfidy it was probable he might experience ; and to remove himself from a country in which he might be shut up, and obliged to surrender, with all his army, if Nizam chose to deliver him up to Ayder. He wrote an account to Madras of what had passed ; and at the same time expressed his suspicions of Nizam and his minister : he proposed to make the best treaty they could with Ayder, for fear the English should find themselves charged singly

with a war so much the more burthensome as it would be in their own country ; and, after having taken leave of Nizam, who loaded him with caresses, from the satisfaction he had of seeing him depart, he set off, leaving, however, to the faith of Nizam, two hundred Europeans, one thousand Seapoys, and some pieces of cannon.

While the government of Madras received the dispatches of General Smith, Mehemet Ali Khan, Nabob of Arcot, received others from Rocum Daulla, his brother-in-law, which gave him the most positive assurances that Nizam would continue the war against Ayder, till he had forced him to yield at least all the country of Benguelour, and all Malleam, or the Carnatic ; that is to say, the vallies of Coilmoutour, Ceylou, Kishnagari, &c. : and while he magnified the forces of the Suba beyond the truth, he diminished those of Ayder ; who, he said, were incapable of presenting themselves before the army of his invincible soveraign. The council of Madras, persuaded by Mehemet Ali Khan, paid no regard to the advice of General Smith, but ordered him to attack the places of Ayder, and to agree with Nizam in every thing ; promising

mising to supply him amply with provisions, ammunition, money, and even troops, if necessary. At the same time that this unprincipled Divan wrote thus to Mehemet Ali, he dispatched his other brother, Maffous Khan, to Ayder, to offer to meet him at Syringpatnam, and to assure him, that he was disposed to do every thing that might be agreeable to him, as Maffous Khan would explain to him. Ayder, on receipt of Rocum Daulla's letter, in order to give some confidence to Nizam, caused his army to return to its ancient camp; and wrote to the Divan, that he would be received as became a person of his rank and character: it was likewise permitted to the merchants of his camp, and the country people, to carry provisions to the army of Nizam. When this Suba had read the letter of Ayder, he ordered a cessation of arms, which was likewise ordered on the side of Ayder; and the Divan set out with a grand retinue. Ayder met him about a league from Syringpatnam; and, after a short conversation, returned to his camp, and Rocum Daulla, having seen the whole Savari of Ayder defile before him, encamped on the spot. The day following, the Divan came to have audience of Ayder in great ceremony; and,

to lose less time in going and coming, he came and encamped between the two lines of redoubts: both parties being desirous of concluding, the treaty was made in a few days. It was agreed, that Tipou Saeb, the son of Ayder, should marry the daughter of Maffous Khan, who, as eldest son of Anaverdi Khan, was the lawful Nabob of Arcot: that Maffous Khan should give up all his right to his future son-in-law; who, in a few days after signing of the treaty, should be invested in the nabobship of Arcot by Nizam, of whose subaship it is a part: that the two Subas should join their forces to reduce Mehemet Ali Khan, and those who took his part: that, during the time the two armies acted in conjunction, Ayder should pay six lacks of rupees per month, and should have the sole right of putting garrisons in the several fortresses of the nabobship of Arcot; the command of which should be given to Moctum Ali Khan, brother-in-law of Ayder, who should govern the country in the names of his nephew, Tipou Saeb, and Maffous Khan: that the former should enjoy the whole revenue of that nabobship; for which Moctum should account, after deducting the charge of supporting

porting the troops, and administering the government.

To unite all the claims in the person of Tipou Saeb, Raza Ali Khan, son of Chanda Saeb, likewise yielded up to the young prince all his pretensions as well to the nabobship of Arcot, as to Trichnapoli and Madura; and Ayder and Tipou Saeb, on their part, engaged to give him all the country of Tanjaor, after deposing the Raja, as a punishment for the murder of Chanda Saeb, father of Raza: the country of Tanjaor was understood as intended to be held by him under the same vassallage to the Nabob of Arcot as it had theretofore been held by the former Rajas: and, finally, the two Subas engaged not to separate, but to exert all their forces to carry this treaty into effect.

Previous to the ratification of the treaty which Maffous Khan undertook to prepare, the retinue of Tipou Saeb was got ready; it was composed of six thousand of the best infantry, of which three thousand were grenadier Seapoys or Topasses, and four thousand chosen cavalry, with about three hundred Europeans, including the company of hussars; and he likewise had the greatest part of his
father's

father's Savari. Maffous Khan having brought the ratification, Rocum Daulla departed, loaded with presents, and Maffous Khan accompanied him, in order to assist at the ceremony of the investiture.

It will hardly be credited, that Ayder, at the moment of parting with his son, was in the greatest perplexity and concern, and expressed it to his friends : " I am afraid," said he, " of the perfidious and cruel Nizam : he has assassinated his own brother, will he spare my son ? or, at least, have I not reason to conclude that he will detain him, and compel me, by the apprehension of my son's danger, either to pay him a large sum, or to make great concessions to him ? For, in short, I trust my son in the hands of a wretch to whom nothing is sacred." This discourse, and many other actions of his, prove that one of the greatest weaknesses of Ayder is his extreme affection for his children and all his relations. However, on the assurances made by Raza Saeb and Mirr Fesoulla Khan (who were charged to accompany his son, and who protested they would themselves perish before the least accident should happen to the young prince) he suffered him to depart, being likewise

wife much encouraged by reflecting on the bravery of the troops and the nobility that attended him.

This little army arrived by a single march at Cenapatnam. The whole army of Nizam, and especially the English, officers as well as soldiers, were extremely surprised at their appearance. Though they had heard of Ayder's army, yet they could not conceive how Indian troops, who have always been ill-disciplined, could march in such good order, and perform their evolutions with such rapidity and exactness. The beauty of their arms and clothing was equally uncommon and strange to them; and they were astonished at the pomp of the Savari. The troops were no sooner encamped than the officers came to visit those of Ayder, and continually spoke with admiration of the excellence of the troops.

The following day Tipou Saeb received a visit from Bazaletzing, brother of Nizam: he was accompanied by Rocum Daulla, and the principal lords of the court. The succeeding day the son of Ayder repaired with all his retinue to the tent of the Suba, who rendered him the highest honours, and gave him the investiture of the nabobship of Arcot, with
all

all its dependencies, in the presence of Maf-fous Khan and Raza Saeb, the only legitimate pretenders to that territory, and who, by their voluntary cession, left no doubt concerning the rights of the son of Ayder Ali Khan. Immediately after this ceremony Nizam dismissed the few remaining English troops, acquainting them that the alliance he had contracted with Ayder Ali Khan having terminated their differences, he had no farther occasion for their services; and that he should write to the governor and council of Madras, to which place they might retire.

As soon as Ayder was informed that his son was acknowledged Nabob of Arcot, he wrote to his Ouaquil, Menagi Bandec, resident at Madras, transmitting to him a memorial to be presented to the governor. The substance of the memorial was, that Nizam Daulla and Ayder Ali Khan, being well informed that Mehemet Ali Khan *, by his continual usurpations and intrigues, was the author of all the troubles that had so long agitated In-

* Ayder was not ignorant that Mehemet was no more than the agent of the English; but he acted in this manner to retort their own politics upon themselves.

doſtan, had reſolved to make war upon him, till they had deprived him of all the territory he poſſeſſed to the excluſion of the proper and legitimate heirs : that in conſequence they thought proper to warn the Engliſh againſt affording him any aſſiſtance ; and required them to withdraw their troops out of any gariſons they might poſſeſs in the Nabobſhip of Arcot, or any of the countries uſurped by Mehemet : that nevertheless, as it was known that theſe places were pledges for ſums due to them from Mehemet Ali, Ayder Ali offered to reimburse them in any ſums lawfully due, among which he could not reckon thoſe ſums that were diſpenſed for the purpoſes of diſpoſſeſſing the Nabobs of Veilour, Vandevachi, and other rightful proprietors, of their territories ; but, on the contrary, he expected that theſe laſt ſhould be indemnified from all the loſſes they had ſuſtained.

It may be eaſily conceived that a memorial or manifeſto, totally new and uncommon in India, and declaratory of a war againſt the Engliſh, of which they were to bear the whole expence, muſt have cauſed the utmoſt aſtoniſhment to that people. This declaration was directed againſt the poſſeſſions of the Engliſh,
Mehemet

Mehemet Ali Khan being a Nabob merely nominal, without troops or money, and the slave of the English.

It was the policy of the English in India to traverse the designs of the smallest potentate, who might wish to enlarge his dominions, for fear he might arrive to a capability of making head against them: their administration had long been alarmed at the rapid conquests of Ayder, and the sudden elevation of his power. In consequence of Nizam Daulla's having ceded to them four northern provinces, they had engaged to furnish twelve hundred Europeans, and a corps of Seapoys, to the army of that Suba : General Smith, commander of this body of troops, was ordered to inspire Nizam with jealousy of the conquests of Ayder ; and to confer with Rocum Daulla concerning the projected war ; offering the Suba all the English forces, and fixing his attention on the immense treasures Ayder had found in the kingdom of Canara and the coast of Malabar ; treasures which they affirmed could not but fall into his hands, as it was impossible for Ayder to stand against the united forces of the Suba and the English.

The English government did not at that time

time indulge the hope of plundering Ayder entirely, but they expected to stop the course of his conquests, and oblige him to abandon the coast of Malabar, among the inhabitants of which they proposed to excite a revolt. By this means their intention was to compel Ayder to yield, either to them or to Mehemet Ali Khan, all the country dependant on Mayssour that lies beyond the great *Gates*, or mountains ; which, according to them, ought to be the natural bounds of his dominions. They proposed to leave him in possession of all the rest of his dominions, in the persuasion that it was of advantage to the security and tranquillity of their possessions, that so warlike and powerful a prince as Ayder should be between them and the Marattas *.

But at all events, whether the hopes of the English respecting the war with Ayder were

* That it may not be thought that the author of these *Memoirs* expresses his own ideas rather than those of the princes, governors, and generals he speaks of, he thinks it proper to observe, that these pretensions are collected from a conference between himself and the governor (Boschier) of Madras, together with Colonel Call, first in council, and chief engineer; in which they attempted to persuade him, that it was the interest of Ayder to make this cession, in order to insure the protection and assistance of the English.

rational or not, it is certain that when they learned that the Marattas had declared war against him, and Mirza his brother-in-law had joined them, their expectations were unbounded, and they devoured by anticipation the treasures of Ayder.

The council of Madras, who till then had envied the brilliant fortune of the Calcutta administration in the enjoyment of an immense territorial revenue, flattered themselves in a short time to realize their chimerical hopes, and to equal them in splendour and importance. Their letters to the Court of Directors were filled with brilliant projects, that promised no less than the possession of all the coast from Cape Rama to Cape Comorin : the Court of Directors were thrown into a kind of delirium by their admiration of the profound policy of their servants ; and every one being anxious to possess a large share of the Company's stock, the price rose to £. 275 *per Cent.* in the year 1768, tho' it afterwards fell at once to £. 220, on the news of the excursion of Ayder's cavalry to the gates of Madras ; a fall which, to the present time, has been constantly increasing.

Ayder Ali Khan having by his address destroyed the formidable alliance on which the

English company formed such pleasing dreams, because they knew so little of the character and power of their allies, and still less of the enemy whose ruin they meditated, it became incumbent on the council of Madras to justify themselves : for this purpose they could find no better pretence than to attribute the defeat of their projects, and the war that threatened them in the country of Arcot, to the intrigues of the French.

The despotism exercised in India by the English, against other European nations, was such, that there was nothing they hesitated to do against any power, whether native or European : they never pardoned other nations the crime of fulfilling their engagements, of whatever nature they might be, with any sovereign, though they themselves sold musquets and cannon to every Indian power ; seven-eighths of Ayder's arms being of English make. Their cruelty towards their prisoners, and the barbarity with which they destroyed Pondicherry, had reduced the greatest part of the French to misery. The unhappy situation they found themselves in after the establishment of the peace, compelled great numbers of them to seek employment and subsistence from Ayder and other

princes. When any of these unfortunate people fell into the hands of the English, a dungeon was the lightest punishment they were to expect. To accomplish their purposes they employed, as will be shewn in the course of these Memoirs, promises, menaces, and even forgery, to cause them to enter into their service.

So far from the French government having had any concern in this war, declared by Ayder, it is certain that no correspondence with respect to that Nabob's operations ever existed, either between him and them, or with any officer of Ayder's army, till after the conclusion of the treaty between Ayder and Nizam ;—truth obliges me to make this last exception. The correspondence began by two letters, one from Ayder, and the other from Raza Saeb, which these personages charged the commandant of Europeans to forward to the governor of Pondicherry.—Here follows the substance of the letters.

Ayder complained in his letter, that the English, without provocation, and after receiving many favours, had projected his ruin ; and by every species of intrigue had formed a league with the Suba of Decan, and the Marattas, against him : that they had attacked his places, without any other inducement than a desire to rob
others

others of their property ; but that he had dissolved the league made against him, by forming an alliance with Nizam Daulla, for the purpose of making war against the English and Mehemet Ali Khan, the promoter of their unjust aggression.

He observed, that by having formerly assisted the French against the same enemy, and having saved Pondicherry, he had every reason to hope that the French would return him the same good office in so just a war : that he was not ignorant of the peace then (1767) subsisting between the French and the English ; but that, while the orders of the French king were expected, he might send concealed succours, for which Ayder would be very thankful, and pay any price that might be charged for the service to be done : that, in short, he referred to the letter of the French commandant, on whom he had a perfect reliance, and whose proposals on Ayder's part might be credited as if signed by himself, and to whom he might address himself on any subject that required secrecy.

Raza Saeb wrote, that his family had always been attached to the French since their first establishment in India : that in consequence of his inviolable attachment, his father had lost

his life, his mother was prisoner at Madras, and he himself had lost every thing : that an opportunity now presented itself of repairing his fortune in some measure, by the assistance of his friends : that he hoped to find his most ancient allies, the French, disposed to assist him against those who had unjustly robbed him, and were the cause of all his misfortunes : he concluded his letter, like Ayder, by referring to the French officer for details, having, as he affirmed, the most unbounded confidence in him.

These letters were secretly carried to Pondicherry by the Persian writer of the commandant, a man deserving the most absolute confidence, and who had been long attached to the French nation, having been employed by M. Lally at Pondicherry, where his residence had been for above thirty years, and where his wife and children then were : the letters were put into the stock of a pistol, which this man wore at his girdle, walking on foot, and leading an ox loaded with several wares of the country, like a petty merchant or pedlar.

To answer the trust these two princes reposed in him, and to fulfil his duty to his king and country, the commandant dispatched a letter, together with those of the Nabobs.

After

After confirming the resolution taken by the two Subas to carry on the war on the coast of Coromandel, he gave an exact detail of the forces of Ayder, and those of Nizam ; and, to shew that he spoke with a knowledge of the business, he likewise gave an account of the English forces. He demonstrated that it was impossible for the English to secure themselves from loss in this war, because their former successes in India arose from their wars being carried on near the sea-coast, or on the banks of the Ganges, which gave them a facility of conveying stores and ammunition by sea, and receiving other assistance from their vessels ; whereas, in their contest with Ayder, they would be deprived of those advantages, the war being to be carried on in a country remote from the sea, without one navigable river ; where the fortresses are spread at great distances from each other ; and where every advantage would depend upon cavalry, of which the English were entirely destitute : that the army of Ayder was totally unlike those of the other Indian powers, the duty being performed with regularity : and that, if the English placed any dependance on night attacks, surprizes, or treason on the part of his

generals, they would find themselves mistaken : that he himself, being intrusted with the safety and preservation of the army, could with the most absolute confidence promise to insure it from any surprize ; and that the treasons so frequent in the other Indian armies could not take place in Ayder's, because the generals had no property in their troops, all the officers, horsemen, and soldiers, having but one master : and, concluding that Ayder would have the advantage, he advised that an exact and absolute neutrality would not be the most prudent mode of action, because it would of necessity displease both parties*. But the medium he advised was, to send some small succours to Ayder, promising to send more ; the performance of which promise might be delayed at pleasure, by throwing the excuse on contrary winds, that prevented the arrival of shipping. As the force at Pondicherry was but small, no great force could be sent from thence, but it would be sufficient to send some officers

* Ayder and Raza Saeb requested succours, as a return for their former services ; and Mehemet Ali Khan demanded that the French should support him, as Nabob of Arcot, acknowledged by the treaty of Fontainebleau.

and good gunners, who might join the army as deserters, without embroiling the nation, whose interest it was to see the power of the English in India depressed. The officer added, that as a faithful subject of his king, and from the daring character of Ayder when he is attended with victory, he judged it proper to advise the governor to fortify Pondicherry as early as possible, were it only by clearing the ditches, raising the ramparts with dry earth or the ruins of the old works*, and mounting a few cannon on the bastions; because, if Ayder should approach Pondicherry, and perceive it without defence, he might lay aside the respect due to the French colours, and take all the artillery, and other matters he might be in need of, as payment of his due for the succours formerly granted the French: at the same time the officer assured the governor, that if any violence or want of respect for the king's standard should be shewn, he might depend upon the co-operation of about eight hundred Europeans, who were in Ay-

* The new fortifications of Pondicherry were then scarcely began; but the governor, immediately on the receipt of this letter, gave the place an appearance of being in a state of defence.

der's army. The letter was concluded, by advising the governor to purchase rice and provisions for Pondicherry, by taking advantage of the abundance then in the country, and the fear the inhabitants were in of being plundered by the Indian armies ; because the resolution was taken to lay the whole country waste by the cavalry and irregular troops, as was really done afterwards — (the French governor profited by this advice, and was in consequence able, during the whole war, to keep the price of rice at Pondicherry at less than half its value at Madras) : and, lastly, the officer added, that to forward the good disposition of Ayder and his allies, it would be proper to send M. B , or some other person esteemed by Ayder, on an embassy, to compliment the two Subas.

The receipt of these dispatches gave the governor infinite pleasure, as they dispelled his fears concerning Ayder, whom he justly considered as the natural ally of France. But, from experience, having a very low opinion of the bravery of Indian troops when they fight against Europeans, he could not adopt the ideas of the French commandant of Ayder's army : besides which, the Company's instructions,

tions, then subsisting, were so precise in commanding him to avoid every subject of contention whatsoever, and particularly with the English, that he thought himself obliged to answer these letters in a manner very different from what had been expected.

His letter to Ayder began by felicitations on the glory he had acquired by his conquests, and the glorious peace he had made with his numerous enemies, who were become his allies : he observed that it was with concern he heard that war, which is always ruinous to nations, was about to commence on the coast of Coromandel : that he wished the Nabob every kind of prosperity, and would not fail to send an embassy to compliment him when he came near Pondicherry ; but that he was exceedingly concerned at its being out of his power to dispose of any troops against the English, because the two nations were at peace, which he could not infringe without new orders from the king his master, to whom he would write without delay : and, lastly, he referred to the French commandant, who had forwarded the Nabob's letters, and who, he said, would explain such matters as required detail.

The

The letter to Raza Saeb was to the same purport. In answer to the officer's letter, the governor advised him, that, by dispatching the letters of the two Nabobs, he had subjected him to the risque of breaking with the English ; that he earnestly begged he would spare him the consequences of such a correspondence, as he could not render a greater service to his country, in the then situation of the French in India, without troops, and without fortifications : that in the mean time he would not fail to represent his compliance to this request in its true light to the minister, and the East India company ; and he might depend on his informing them of the services he had rendered them by the important advices contained in his letter : that, from his own unhappy experience of the pusillanimity of the Indians, when they combat with Europeans, he had reason to fear that the future war would not turn out to the advantage of the two Subas : that he could not, in any manner, afford assistance either to Ayder or Raza Saeb, his orders being too precise in directing to give no subject of complaint to the English, or to Mehemet Ali Khan : that he begged he would explain these reasons to the two princes who
had

had written to him, softening his refusal as he judged best: and, more especially, he begged him to write no more directly to him, but that he should be glad to hear news of his negociation by a letter in cyphers, which he might send by way of M. . . .

There is no room to reproach this governor for his faithful and strict obedience to his orders. It is to be wished they had been less precise, as he might then have profited by this opportunity, that the ministry could not possibly foresee; by a correspondence with Ayder, he might have animated him to a war against the English, that would have been ruinous to their Company; and, by answering the wishes of that prince in a very slight degree, might have prevented certain events that impeded his progress, and which obliged him to make peace, and reserve himself for another opportunity of enforcing his son's just pretensions to the Nabobship of Arcot.

This governor gave advice to the minister and the Company of the approaching invasion of the coast of Coromandel by the combined armies of the two Subas: and at the same time he communicated his fears for the event
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of the war, which he considered as necessarily productive of the ruin of Ayder; who would, he said, have been a very useful ally, if the French officer (commandant of Europeans) wanting experience, had not carried him to this extremity, but had reserved him for the time of war between England and France;—an expression dictated by the European prejudice, which leads us to imagine that the inhabitants of the other parts of the world have not received from nature the same portion of reason and judgment as ourselves, to determine for themselves according to their own interest, rather than to follow the most specious reasoning that can be offered to the contrary. It is to be presumed that, on the simple exposition of the facts, or from the copy of the French officer's letter, the ministry had taken those resolutions, upon receiving the news of the invasion, which were not determined on till the end of 1769;—resolutions that would have been fatal to the English empire in India, if the differences relative to the Falkland Islands had not been made up.

Ayder, after having determined to make a descent on the coast of Coromandel with Nizam

zam Daulla, took every precaution to prevent interruption from other parts : he was sensible of the importance of the war he was engaged in, and which was to be transacted with enemies so much the more to be feared, as they knew how to fight. By the advice of his European commandant, he gave up the idea of forming a corps of European infantry, on account of the impossibility of making them sufficiently numerous to face a single English regiment : he therefore determined to incorporate all his European soldiers either among his hussars or dragoons, or among his artillery, except such as were made officers of the grenadier Seapoys or Topasses ; which was the corps of infantry destined to face the English troops. The artillery of his army was likewise considerably augmented ; and he took proper measures to have always an immense quantity of ammunition, such as it was impossible for any European army to convey after them, or indeed for any other army that was not perfectly assured of its rear.

The Indian armies have great quantities of baggage, carried by oxen and camels, but chiefly by oxen, the camel being fit for little besides parade : for this animal, on account of
its

its fleshy feet, cannot be shod, and is incapable of travelling either on a stony or a muddy clay soil, being apt to fall; it is likewise with difficulty made to pass a river; and is, besides, absolutely incapable either of ascending or descending a mountain when loaded. Besides the baggage of the army, it is followed by a great number of * merchants and workmen of every kind, who have many beasts of burthen. Ayder gave orders that all these, not excepting those of the sovereign, should carry a ball, from twelve to six-and-thirty pounds, for which the proprietor of the beast should be answerable.

A horde, consisting of a kind of Bohemians,

* These merchants are the purveyors of the army, and render it unnecessary for the sovereign to provide other commissaries: it is sufficient for the general to keep the passages free, and to instruct them, by the Cotual or provost, of the quantity of rice in the army. Rice, which is the only grain made use of either by the Indian or European troops, does not require to be made into bread; and consequently there is no trouble of constructing ovens, which would be necessary in furnishing an army with bread: however, the officers, and all who chuse to go to the price, may have excellent bread in the Indian armies, which is baked in portable ovens, a kind of utensil that might be introduced with great advantage into European armies.

very numerous in India, of unknown origin, inhabitants of the woods (whom the prejudices of India has forbidden to dwell in walled towns, because it is said they eat every kind of animal or reptile) was permitted by Ayder, who is above prejudice, to follow the army, and sell milk, wood, and every thing their industry could procure. These men undertook to convey a considerable part of the powder, by means of their little carriages, drawn by buffaloes: to assist them in procuring a subsistence, part of them were taken into pay as pioneers, and were of the greatest utility in sieges and the construction of intrenchments, or repairing of roads, as well by carrying earth as by making gabions and fascines.

The harness of all the cannon and artillery was doubled; and, that nothing might retard their march, every piece of eighteen pounds or upwards was provided with an elephant*.

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* It can hardly be imagined how useful these elephants are, nor with what skill and intelligence they do their work. When a piece of artillery is drawn up a hill, the elephant is behind it, and sustains it with his foot, while the oxen pause to take breath: if the piece is going down a hill, the elephant retains it by a rope fastened to his trunk: if the tackle gets entangled, or if the piece oversets, or sticks fast, he assists
the

The ammunition waggons carried two hundred charges of powder, and an immense number of cartridges, for the musquetry. Every battalion of grenadier Seapoys had two four-pounders in its suite.

While these different preparations were making, Ayder arranged every affair relative to his dominions, so as to be out of apprehension of any unexpected event happening in his absence.

The truce with the Marattas, and his alliance with Nizam, delivered him from the fear of any foreign enemy, and permitted him to employ his whole force against them, by depriving them of the means to create disturbances by their intrigues. He restored their dominions to the different Nayre princes, on condition of an annual tribute, which he proposed to demand, or to let accumulate, according to the

the oxen according to the circumstances. An officer of reputation, then major of artillery, but now (1782) resident at Paris, affirms, that he has seen the elephant of a piece of cannon (out of patience to see that the oxen did not draw, in spite of the whips of their drivers) cut a branch off a tree, and beat those animals till they acted as he thought proper.—When the piece is brought before the battery, the elephant himself places it in the embrasure, without any assistance.

Situation

situation of his affairs ; and withdrew all his troops from the coast of Malabar.

The French commandant at Mahé, and the Dutch at Cochin, employed themselves with effect, to terminate the difference between Ayder and the Nayre princes ; and to their efforts it is that the coast of Malabar is indebted for peace.

An important discovery, totally unexpected by Ayder, and which was made soon after the conclusion of the truce with the Marattas, occasioned an event that has induced many persons in India to speak against Ayder.

It was discovered, that Nand Raja, ancient regent of Mayssour, whom Ayder called his father, had joined with the Marattas and the English in the general conspiracy against him. Nand Raja then resided at Mayssour, a fortress two leagues distant from Syringpatnam, the capital of the lands he held *en appanage*. Ayder was exceedingly embarrassed, when he discovered this treachery : the great age of the prince made it improper to propose his marching against the English : to leave him in his residence, and to give the government of the kingdom of Mayssour to another, would have excited his complaints, and might have fur-

nished him with an occasion to excite new troubles.

The pretence made use of by those who irritated Nand Raja against Ayder was, that this last, after having conquered the kingdom of Canara, and fixed his residence at Nagar, ought not to have given the regency of Mayssour to any one but Nand Raja : but, without considering the advanced age and incapacity of Nand Raja, which alone would have prevented him from taking that step, he was restrained by his promise to the old dowager Dayva, who had always been the mortal enemy of her brother-in-law, and was apprehensive of being subjected to his power. Ayder, in gratitude for the services rendered him by that lady, could not consent to displease her in this respect ; but as she was the object of the pleasantries of all the court, on account of the irregularity of her manners, it was whispered that Ayder made the old lady believe that Nand Raja demanded the government for the purpose of punishing her for the little respect she bore to the laws, and the manes of her deceased husband ; by which means he obtained large sums of her, either in the way of gift or loan ; giving her likewise to understand, that he was distressed

fed for money to pay for the Maratta truce, and his alliance with Nizam ; and it is likewise probable that he did not forget to say, that Nand Raja offered large fums for the appointment of regent. Thus it was that Ayder, from motives of interest rather than policy, took a pleasure in fomenting the discord between the brother and sister-in-law. An opportunity presented itself of doing this on the occasion of the death of the king of Mayssour. Nand Raja wrote to solicit the title of king for the younger son, in preference to the elder, who he affirmed was weak, and incapable of the office : but his letter availed little with Ayder, who was solicited by the widow Dayva in favour of the elder : he wrote, in answer to both, that not being able at that time to attend any thing but the war with the revolted Nayres, he had given orders to Moctum Ali Khan, to place on the throne that prince, of the late king's sons, whom he might think the most worthy to reign : he wrote secretly, by the same courier, to Moc-tum, to place the youngest on the throne. This proceeding, which, as may be readily imagined, excited the complaints of the widow Dayva, and of most part of the nobility of the kingdom, gave Ayder an opportunity, on his arrival at

Syringpatnam, to make a parade of his equity, by giving the throne to the eldest. The whole business drew an additional sum from the old lady, and created many enemies to Nand Raja, and perhaps to Moctum, who readily assisted in all these artifices, through his unbounded attachment to his brother-in-law.

It not being practicable either to give Nand Raja the government of the kingdom, nor to remove him out of it, and still less prudent to leave him discontented in the absence of Ayder, a council was held on the business; the general advice was to secure his person, at least during the absence of the Nabob, and in the meantime to remove from him a Bramin, his brother-in-law, who gave him bad advice: but to this Ayder opposed the written promise he had made to the Raja, *never to make any attempt on his liberty, property, or life*, besides the difficulty of arresting that prince in his residence at Mayssour, a place capable of standing a siege, and where Nand Raja had upwards of two thousand troops, forming, it must be confessed, the whole of his little army.

This affair being of such a nature as to require a speedy determination, it was agreed, that Ayder should go the following morning in
grand

grand ceremony to Mayffour, to make an honourable vifit to Nand Raja, and invite him to come and encamp with his little army in the ifland of Syringpatnam, in order to make his public entry into the capital in quality of vice-roy, as Ayder was defirous of invefting him with that dignity before his departure : the vifit was accordingly made, and Nand Raja, at the height of his wifhes, arrived with his family in the ifland, under the power of Ayder; who that very day, under pretence of exercifing his troops in their evolutions, invefted the little camp, and inclofed it in the night by detachments of infantry, who were ordered to fuffer no one to pafs them, without firft conducting him to the Nabob, to be queftioned by him. As it had been difficult to perfuade Ayder to fecure the old man, it was eafy for Nand Raja to perceive that he was under guard, which put him into fuch a rage againft the Nabob, that he carried his views to an excefs that might have been fatal to any other prince but Ayder.

The unfortunate Raja fent a melfenger to the Perfian writer, named Mirr Saeb, fecretary to the French officer, and who had been charged with the letters to the governor of Pondicherry : his pretence was to enquire whether

he could not procure from Pondicherry some crude salt of tartar and other European drugs ; the Raja being a chemist, or rather alchemist, who had worked many years to discover the transmutation of metals. The Persian being alone with Nand Raja and the Bramin, the former proposed to him to acquaint his master, that if he would assassinate Ayder, he (Nand Raja) would deposit the value of eight lacs of rupees in gold, silver, precious stones, and elephants ; the irritated old man being determined to strip himself of all his property rather than not satisfy his vengeance against his supposed enemy : the project, he observed, was easy to be put in execution, because the Nabob, on his return from the excursion he made every two days, passed the night by the light of flambeaux before the camp of the Europeans ; and nothing could prevent their seizing this instant, and shooting him by an aim taken from the inside of one of the tents. The writer, according to his own account, not daring to shew the horror this proposition made in his mind, promised to speak on the subject to his master, and to give an answer the following day to a Bramin who was shewn to him ; and who promised to wait at the gate of

a small

a small pagoda indicated to him. The writer made haste to inform his master of the interview he had had with the Raja, and the abominable commission he was charged with: the officer, after recovering from the indignation this base proposition naturally produced, ordered him to keep the whole a profound secret*. Fortunately this officer had been one of the council, in which the affair of Nand Raja had been discussed; he knew, consequently, that on that very day the Nabob was to decide whether Nand Raja should be arrested, and to direct in what manner it should be done. The storm that was ready to burst on the head of Ayder did not permit the commandant to defer any longer the waiting upon him; he therefore went, with a determination either to conceal or relate what had come to his knowledge, according to the disposition he might find Ayder in, with regard to arresting Nand Raja: when he came into the

* The writer was not exact in his obedience, for he communicated the whole to Mirza Ali Naki, who had been commandant of Seapoys at Pondicherry under Messrs. Lally and Leyrit, a man of great merit, esteemed by Ayder, and much attached to the French: he did not fail to acquaint the French officer of the indiscretion of his secretary.

presence of the Nabob, that prince addressed him in private : “ That old fool, Nand Raja,” said he, “ has sent for your Persian secretary to give him a commission to procure drugs from Pondicherry ; Has the man mentioned it to you ?” “ Certainly,” replied the French officer, “ he has given me an account of his interview, and I cannot but advise you, after what I have heard, not to delay a moment in arresting Nand Raja.” “ It is a decided step,” returned Ayder, “ every thing is arranged for that purpose ; he is to make his public entry the day after to-morrow into Syringpatnam, at the head of his troops. The streets he passes through will be lined with grenadier Topasses, or Seapoys, and at the palace there will be placed an entire battalion : his troops will be arranged on the parade in readiness to relieve the posts as they are quitted by the grenadiers ; Moctum has undertaken to disarm the troops and all his people ; and, leaving him only his women and a few domestics, will confine him in his own palace ; and, since the old man is without abilities, and, no one can rely on him, every thing will be performed without trouble, before the cannon of the place salute Moctum, who will quit

quit his government to-morrow. Send as many Europeans into the town as you can, as cannoniers : let them enter by small parties, and through the several gates, and unite, as if by curiosity, about the palace of Nand Raja. Do not go yourself, but command your officers to obey punctually the orders of Moc-tum, or his brother Ismael Saeb."

The little attention paid by Ayder to the manner of the French officer when he insisted on arresting Nand Raja, shews how far he is from being inclined to suspect those who have gained his confidence.

This is not the only proof of the openness of his character, that Ayder has given the same officer : for that very night, after returning from the Dorbar *, being gone to rest, he was informed from the prince that the chief usher and sword-bearer of the Nabob desired to speak with him on an affair of the last importance, which they could communicate to him in bed, without his getting up. Being introduced, they said, " The guard which, as you know, is placed round the camp

* The Dorbar is, properly speaking, the council, or place where it is held ; but the word is commonly used to denote the court.

of Nand Raja, stopped one of your people, a short time ago, coming from thence ; and, though he said he belonged to you, it was thought proper to conduct him to the Nabob, because his orders on that head are very precise. The man, in passing by your guard, called for help ; and the guard, knowing* him, took him out of the hands of his conductors, and set him free. The Nabob has therefore sent us to beg you will send the man, that he may be known by those who arrested him : he has also charged us to give you his word, that as soon as it is certain that he is one of your people, he will send him back, for you to do what you think proper with him."

The officer, much astonished at this news, which he supposed to have some relation to the Persian writer, ordered enquiry to be made of the guard, concerning the man they had liberated : to which his valet-de-chambre answered, " He is a black Peon †, whom I sent to

* According to the privileges granted to the Europeans, all decisions respecting justice, among them and their dependents, are made by themselves.

† A Peon is a black servant, who carries a bandalier, with a plate or tablet of the arms of his master, and who runs before his palanquin.

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the camp of Nand Raja before midnight, to procure some manna, as I was informed that a druggift of that camp had some. This Peon, having met an acquaintance, amused himself till after midnight, knowing he was not wanted : on his return he was arrested, which he supposed improper, on account of the protection of your bandalier he carried ; he therefore called out as he passed your guard, and was set free." The officer ordered the Peon to be sent for, and put him into the hands of the prince's officers, by whom he was conducted into the presence. The guards immediately knew him, and Ayder was contented with asking him this question, " Did you come from Pondicherry with your master ? " And on his replying in the affirmative, he sent him back, and the affair was thus terminated.

On the day appointed, Nand Raja, without any mistrust, made a pompous entrance into Syringpatnam, at the head of his little army, the cannon firing, and the troops beating to arms, and saluting him. Being arrived at his palace, his attention was taken up by the compliments of the great men of the city, who were admitted by few at a time, on the pretended

tended account of not making too great a crowd. Moctum then entered the city, followed by a number of officers, and made a sign to the troops, not to pay him any honours : he went directly to the palace of Nand Raja, where every one supposed he was going to pay his respects ; and dismounting, he caused the first company of the battalions of Seapoys who guarded the gate, to follow him. As soon as he came into the presence of Nand Raja, who came to meet him, he acquainted him, that Ayder, being informed that he was surrounded by people who gave him bad advice, had sent him to remove them from about him : at the same time he commanded all present to leave the palace, which was done without uttering a word ; the grenadiers followed them ; and Moctum remaining with Nand Raja, his two sons, and some officers, the conversation was carried on with the greatest politeness. Moctum acquainted the two princes that they were to make the campaign ; and that, instead of one father, they would find two in Ayder and himself. During this short conversation, the women and all the family of Moctum were announced. Moctum took his leave, carrying the two princes with him,

to

to whom he represented, that it became their dignity to wait upon the Nabob, and give him an account of all that had passed. These young noblemen departed, accompanied by many of Moctum's officers; neither they nor Nand Raja expressing the least astonishment or chagrin. After their departure, Moctum spoke a word to Nand Raja's general, who ordered his troop to ground their arms, which was done with great silence. All the gates and windows of Nand Raja's palace, that looked towards the street, were afterwards walled up, except the principal entrance; which is no great disfigurement in an Indian palace, whose principal front lies towards the gardens. Then it was that Nand Raja, to the great satisfaction of the dowager Dayva, found himself shut up in his own palace. Ayder paid the arrears due to his troops, which, for the most part, enlisted among his own. On the valuation of the Raja's income, it was found to be equal to four lacs of rupees: two of which were allowed him for his own maintenance, and the other two were given to his sons, who made the campaign with a brilliant equipage, under the conduct of their father's old general, who appears to have been in intelligence

telligence with Ayder in the tranſaction juſt related.

All the preparations for the campaign being made, the two armies began their march; that of Nizam took the road of Oſcota, and that of Ayder paſſed by the way of Benguelour.

When they had arrived, and encamped at the gates of this city, ſeveral councils were held, to determine on the operations, and take the neceſſary meaſures: Bazaletzing, Rocum Daulla, and ſeveral other chiefs, aſſiſted at theſe councils. It was agreed, that the two armies ſhould march always ſeparate, but at ſuch a diſtance as to aſſiſt each other in all their operations: that the army of Ayder ſhould take the avant-garde till they had paſſed the mountains: and that, when they had entered the kingdom of Arcot, it ſhould again be conſidered, whether it was beſt to act ſeparately or conjointly.



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